



The South Bronx

LIFE AMONG THE RUINS



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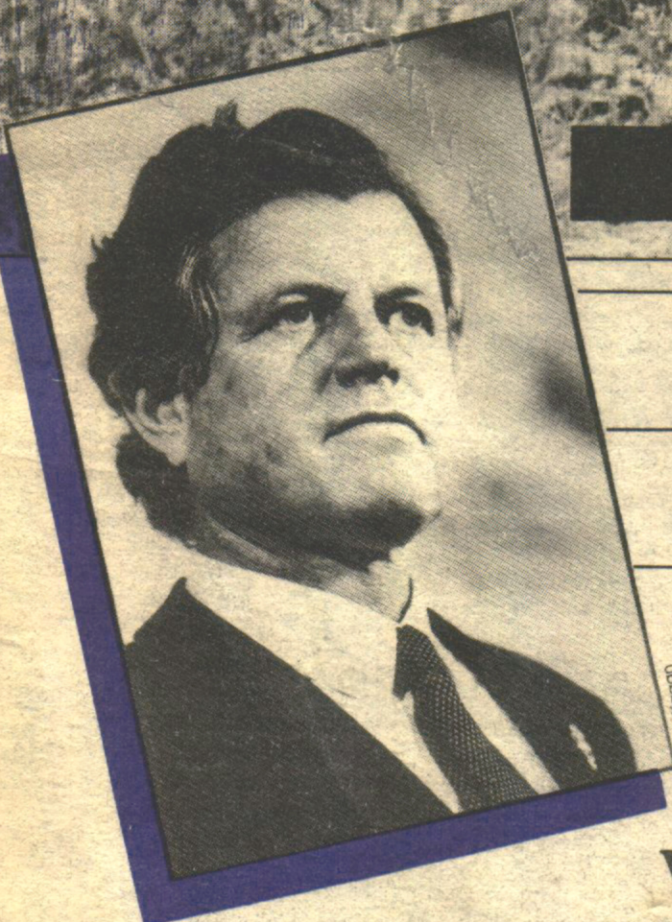
A Photo Essay

Mel Rosenthal

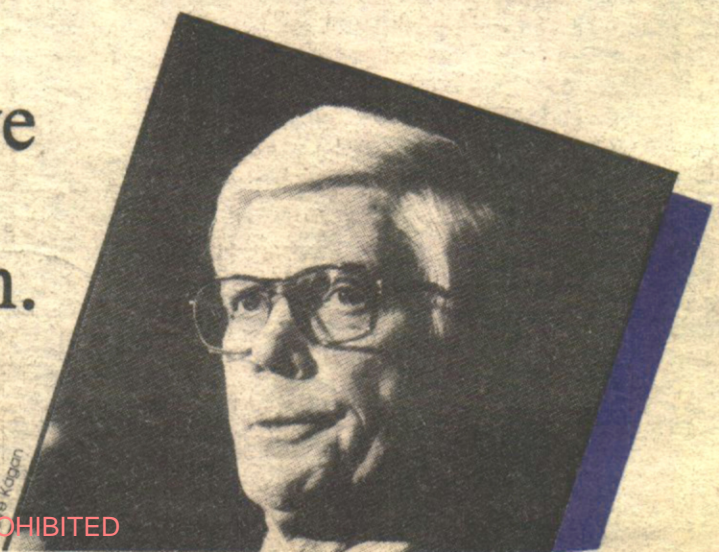
Liberals Bleed in Heartland

Kennedy and
Anderson have
no cure for
voter frustration.

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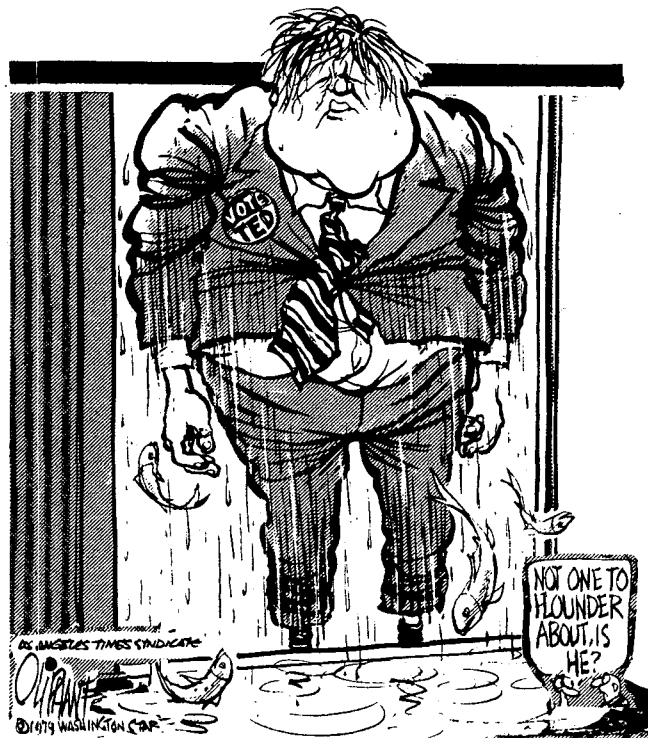


Steve Kagan



Steve Kagan

THE INSIDE STORY



HI, THERE! PARDON MY APPEARANCE, BUT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN THIS COUNTRY.

Chappaquiddick is crucial to Kennedy losses

By Debbie Goldman and John Judis

Chappaquiddick, the small island off Martha's Vineyard, became famous July 18, 1969. That evening, according to Senator Edward Kennedy's testimony, he took a wrong turn while driving back from a party and drove his car off a small wooden bridge into an eight-foot-deep pond.

Kennedy escaped from the car. His passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, did not.

Kennedy claims that he dove several times into the water trying to retrieve Kopechne. Then, he went back to the party, got two friends, and returned to the pond to dive for Kopechne. After 45 minutes, they gave up and went home. According to Kennedy, he then swam alone the 500-yard channel back to his motel.

Ten hours after the accident, Kennedy finally notified the police. Six days later, he pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge of having left the scene of an accident and was given a suspended sentence.

Doubts about Kennedy's version of the event continued to haunt him: why did Kennedy and Kopechne leave the party together? Were they the only people in the car? Why did Kennedy make the wrong turn? How did he get out of the car and not Kopechne? Could he have swum back across the channel's swift currents? Why did he wait 10 hours to report the accident? In 1976, Robert Sherrill's *The Last Kennedy*, an investigation of Chappaquiddick published the year previously, was supposed to have discouraged Kennedy from seeking the presidency.

But in 1980 Kennedy and his supporters hoped that Chappaquiddick had been put to rest.

It now appears that it has not. Moreover, it seems that doubts about Kennedy's character, judgment, morality, and ability in crises—which stem in large part from an evaluation of his behavior at Chappaquiddick—are a major, if not the major, reason for his failure at the polls.

13 percentage points.

Two recent polls have tried to assess the effect of Chappaquiddick on the Kennedy candidacy. A January 1980 *Newsweek* poll found that among the 21 percent of Democratic voters who believed he acted properly at Chappaquiddick he held a 38-to-27 percent lead over President Carter. Among the 55 percent who thought he

acted improperly, Carter held a 44-to-15 percent lead.

During the New Hampshire primary, the *Los Angeles Times* conducted a poll of Democratic voters to ascertain what effect Chappaquiddick had on their decision. Asked whether they thought it was important to consider Chappaquiddick in deciding who to support, 37 percent said it was important, while 63 percent said it was not. Among those who thought Chappaquiddick was important, Carter enjoyed an overwhelming lead.

According to William Schneider, who analyzed the *Times* survey, they tried to factor out those voters who thought Chappaquiddick was important, but would have voted for Carter anyway. When they did this, they found that 13 percent of the electorate had voted for Carter rather than Kennedy primarily because of Chappaquiddick.

Kennedy lost New Hampshire by .11 percentage points.

Interviews with voters in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Illinois have confirmed the *Times* conclusion. Repeatedly, voters who otherwise say they agree with Kennedy more than Carter or Anderson explain their decision to oppose Kennedy on the basis of his character, judgment, or morality. When queried further, they will inevitably cite Chappaquiddick—often along with Kennedy's having cheated at Harvard, his reputation as a "womanizer" and his wife's alcoholism.

•Dorothy Robey, a Chicago school teacher and a lifelong Democrat, is going to vote for Anderson, even though she distrusts his "conservative element." Asked about Kennedy, she says she likes his economic ideas much better than those of Carter or Anderson ("I think national health insurance is important") but she still cannot support him. "I guess it would have to come down to a moral turpitude that I suspect on his part," she explains. "The cheating, Chappaquiddick, I guess I've been influenced by what his wife has done and become."

•Herta Kresse, a Chicago city worker, insists that he prefers Kennedy to Carter on the economy, but says he will not vote for Kennedy. "If he don't remember what happens 20 hours later, how he going to remember to run the country," Kresse says, referring to Chappaquiddick.

•Jan Ellison, a Rochester, N.H., store clerk, won't vote for Carter, but will probably vote for Brown rather than Kennedy, even though she dislikes Brown's unequivocal opposition to nuclear power. Asked why she won't support Kennedy, she explains, "You can cross him off. If there's such a thing as sincerity and honesty in politics, that's what we need."

•Joseph Vogel, a Hamilton, Mass., seminary student, who is black and considers himself a Democrat, is nevertheless going to vote for Carter or Anderson. "I question his motives for wanting to be president," Vogel says of Kennedy. "In the back of my mind would be Chappaquiddick. He hasn't really stood up and said, 'This is me.'"

Organizers for Kennedy also confess that Chappaquiddick is an important issue for voters they talk to. One woman, who was trying to win the Jewish vote for Kennedy and didn't want to be identified publicly, said, "They say they're worried about his judgment and so forth, but the bottom line is Chappaquiddick."

Subliminal ads.

There are different reasons why Chappaquiddick—and the complex of issues that surround it—have become so important in the Kennedy-Carter race.

The reason most adduced by the Kennedy campaign is the media's and the Carter campaign's focus on the issue. Immediately prior to the Iowa primary, the *Washington Star* and *Reader's Digest* published arti-

cles on Chappaquiddick that purported to disprove Kennedy's version of the event. The *New York Times* published a new "expose" the week prior to the Illinois primary.

The Carter campaign has subliminally focused on Chappaquiddick in its campaign commercials. The standard Carter radio-TV commercial suggests that despite Carter's weak record he is preferable to the untrustworthy womanizer, Kennedy:

A man brings two things to a campaign—his record and himself. Who he is is frequently as important as what he has done. President Carter is a straightforward unassuming family man. People respect his integrity and trust his judgment, and they already know what kind of president he would be.

The other reason often adduced by Kennedy organizers is the shroud that the Iranian crisis has cast over all substantive issues in the campaign. If popular concern were to shift back to Carter's handling of the economy, they argue, people would no longer find Chappaquiddick or Kennedy's behavior in college so significant.

Both these reasons are important, but the public response does reflect an abiding concern with character as a consideration in choosing presidents. This has been demonstrated repeatedly: in 1964, when Nelson Rockefeller's divorce hampered his presidential bid; in 1972, when Edmund Muskie and vice-presidential candidate Thomas Eagleton were both rejected by voters because of supposed character defects. In 1980 it has affected Governor Jerry Brown as well as Kennedy. (During one morning talk show, a New Hampshire voter asked Brown's sister, "There's one thing I'd like to know about your brother: is he queer or just a swinger?" In different forms, this question was asked repeatedly.)

Divorce, eccentricity, and instability have not mattered when it has come to re-electing these men to state houses or to the Senate, but have suddenly mattered when they have run for president. With Kennedy, Chappaquiddick didn't seem to matter until he actually began campaigning.

This American concern with character probably stems from the peculiar American political system, which limits a chief executive's ties to party or program. Character is therefore seen as an all-important determinant of a president's capabilities.

For his part, Kennedy only responded belatedly to public concern about his character. As Sidney Blumenthal reports in the *New Republic*, Kennedy was advised last fall by consultant David Garth to confront Chappaquiddick at the outset, but he rejected Garth's advice. Only as he began to fall behind in Iowa did Kennedy try to respond and then indirectly: he brought in Joan Kennedy to affirm his status as a family man.

During the New England primaries, Kennedy ran commercials in which Kennedy family members testified to his personal merits. In a televised address to New England voters, Kennedy also openly addressed Chappaquiddick.

Other times, he has still seemed determined to avoid the issue. On a March 9 appearance on *Face the Nation*, he responded to questions about public trust by simply reiterating his positions on the economy.

It may be there is nothing Kennedy could do to allay voters' fears. If so, it is a pity for Kennedy, whose qualifications for office are otherwise equal, if not superior, to the other presidential contenders; and it is an even greater pity for those Democrats who have sought in Kennedy a left-wing alternative to Carter's abdication to the oil companies and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Debbie Goldman writes for the *Somerville (Mass.) Community News*.

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BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 322-5315.
NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

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Liberals fail to offer alternative

By David Moherg

CHICAGO

AFTER THE FIRST WAVE OF primaries in the South and the big vote in Illinois, the presidential line-up for November seems firm, barring precisely the sort of miracles and grand gaffes that the underdogs must hope for. It will be Jimmy Carter for the Democrats, Ronald Reagan for the Republicans and dismay for most voters.

Despite Carter's more than two-to-one margin in Illinois over Kennedy, polls indicate a significant drop in voter satisfaction with Carter's performance as president. Despite Reagan's strong win in Illinois—with 45 percent of the vote, compared to John Anderson's 37 percent and George Bush's 11 percent—an Illinois opinion poll shows Reagan less likely than Anderson, Bush or even reluctant Gerald Ford to beat Carter in the fall.

Clearly many people are going to feel disillusioned with the now likely choice. Even more ominously, the center of political debate will be shifted well to the right with the conservative sides of both parties fighting for the White House.

Yet the votes cannot simply be read as a conservative shift. Rather, there has been a collapse of the old Democratic liberalism as a semi-coherent political ideology and alliance, with nothing replacing it on the left. Reagan and Crane forcefully articulate a popular ideological position from the far right. Support for each of the other candidates is an unpredictable mix of personality, style, campaign image-making, past histories, incumbency, or scattered responses to various issues. The political catchword in describing the electorate now is "volatility," having pushed aside "momentum" for the moment as the center of journalistic attention.

Ted Kennedy, the choice of the left wing of the Democratic party according to a *New York Times* survey, in particular has failed to put together a persuasive alternative to Carter from the left. But even if he had, there is a good chance that the widespread voter uneasiness about his judgment or character would have continued to sink him. Even voters who favored his two prime campaign issues—price controls and gasoline rationing—will vote for Carter in Illinois, according to a 1979 *New York Times* poll. Throughout many of the working-class neighborhoods where Kennedy should have done well, there was serious concern about what one pro-Kennedy Democratic party activist summed up as "the girl problem."

Kennedy lost heavily to Carter in Illinois among Catholics (44 percent for Carter, 32 percent for Kennedy), among blacks (57 to 36), and among Jews (63 to 25), according to the CBS poll—all constituencies where he needed to win. He ran only slightly stronger in the city of Chicago itself—winning 32 percent of the vote—than in the suburbs (28 percent) and downstate (29 percent) for an overall tally of 30 percent to Carter's 65 percent. The same poll, furthermore, showed a surprising 41 percent of Democrats who said they would never vote for Kennedy.

The Byrne backlash

Kennedy's prime backer in Illinois—Chicago mayor Jane Byrne—turned out to be a much bigger debt than asset. Not only was she unable to get her committee people and precinct captains to work hard for Kennedy (many handed out sample ballots without listing the party endorsement of Kennedy), but also Kennedy suffered from a strong anti-Byrne sentiment among voters.

Byrne wasn't even able to deliver on the separate delegate vote, and Kennedy

"Volatility" is the new catchword as journalists strive to explain voter behavior in terms of single issues, images, and personalities.

picked up only 14 delegates to Carter's 165—a reversal of Kennedy's moderately good showing in delegates compared to a weak popular vote.

Earlier in the campaign Byrne had insisted on running the campaign herself, pushing aside the Draft Kennedy enthusiasts who might have produced some active workers for Kennedy and antagonizing downstate Democrats. Although some trade unions, especially the Machinists and the Auto Workers, worked hard and independently for Kennedy, there was never a strong, well-financed, coordinated effort in Illinois.

Whenever Kennedy visited groups from whom he might have expected support, he seemed to find that they had forgotten any record of support for their positions Kennedy had offered. ("What has he ever done for us?" auto workers demanded of their staff.) He also found union members worried about gun control, Catholics opposed to abortion, blacks critical of his strong pro-Israel position that excludes the Palestinians, and liberals or leftists dogging him with challenges to his role in the omnibus criminal code revision.

The Kennedy strategy from the beginning was flawed, and the "volatility" of voters brought that out. At first Kennedy campaigned as if he were simply ascending to the throne as rightful heir, emphasizing "leadership," minimizing any differences with Carter and offering no program. But the Iranian hostage-taking gave Carter a new aura as *de facto* leader and the emphasis on personal qualities simply drew out more of the Chappaquiddick concerns.

By the time Kennedy offered his alternative program, it was—as he later said of Carter's anti-inflation plan—"too little, too late." Voters who might have rallied behind Kennedy because he offered a way out of the current mess—a frustrating sense shared by many voters across any political spectrum that nothing works anymore—found no reason to support him.

"I just don't think Kennedy is saying anything more than Carter to make me vote for him," Joyce Zick, a 40-year-old housewife and community activist in Chicago's blue-collar Northwest side, said. "I wanted some good sound avenues to pursue for the economy—not just that the economy is a problem, but what are you going to do? Price controls sound good, but I think it's deeper than that. You've got to control at the top."

Soft on corporations

Although Kennedy has picked up his attack on the rich and the corporations slightly, he has failed to make abuse of corporate power the centerpiece of his campaign, even to the extent he has done in recent years as a senator. That would at least provide an alternative to the Republicans, who portray government as the villain, and would give his frequent advocacy of measures to help the poor and workers the air of a fighting crusade



Forty-one percent of Illinois Democrats told pollsters they would never vote for Kennedy.

instead of a humanitarian relief program.

"His campaign managers feared that the danger was that Kennedy would become a McGovern," one Kennedy supporter said of the early decision to distance Kennedy from his image as a left-leaning liberal, "when the danger was that he would become a Muskie."

Even a clearer, more forceful left-wing or populist campaign by Kennedy in Illinois would have run up against problems of voter cynicism, unwillingness to turn out an incumbent President (especially one benefiting from a foreign crisis) and the doubts about Kennedy's morality and judgment. Casey Kowalewski, 63, a striking International Harvester worker, showed all those reservations as he mused about his preferences after Kennedy addressed his UAW local.

"Right now I'm on the line. I could be swayed either way," Kowalewski said. "I don't believe anything the politicians say. They go to Washington and do what they want. But I do favor Carter a little bit, just because of the Iranian situation. Also, Chappaquiddick is still on my mind."

Carter's remote-control campaign has taken advantage of the situation—avoiding confrontation with Kennedy, sending out surrogate campaigners, emphasizing his family-man image and playing on crisis and his incumbency. Promise of money and implicit threats of retaliation helped to swing many Illinois politicians into the Carter camp. Then, just before the primary, Carter took advantage of his incumbency to announce his anti-inflation plan.

Although aimed in part at Kennedy, who has hammered away at inflation as his issue, Carter's speech may have been even more an anticipation of a Republican opponent down the line. It is possi-

ble that the decision to balance the budget—yet withhold announcement of the cuts to be made until after the New York and Illinois primaries—was made with the thought that Kennedy does not offer a sufficiently strong challenge from the left to worry about the political cost of the cuts. Meanwhile, every Republican has promised to balance the budget to fight inflation. Kennedy denounces as a myth the idea that a balanced budget would cut inflation significantly, but he, too, pledges to balance it in the near future, in part by ending certain corporate tax loopholes.

Despite Carter's big vote, there seems to be little enthusiasm for him. Supporters often offer some weak defense, such as, "He's trying awfully hard" or "He's doing the best he can under the circumstances," but there is stronger sentiment against the alternatives than for Carter.

Liberals' last stand

Considering the much-noted "volatility," the urgency of some "single-issue" crusades (especially opposition to abortion and gun control), and the weakening party identification, there is lots of speculation about the possibility that this election could result in a major political realignment in the U.S.

"The danger is that if we don't get the job done for Kennedy, we'll suffer for decades," Charlie Williams, Illinois legislative coordinator for the Machinists, said before the primary. "We could go through 20 years without a Democratic president. There's nobody in the wings. The long-term consequences could be disastrous. Liberals have been on the defensive for a long time. This could be the last stand."

The Republicans are trying several

Continued on page 18.

IN SHORT

Gulf-OCAW pact may set pattern

Gulf Oil company has agreed to a two-year contract with striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) unionists in a pact that is expected to be the model for strike talks at 11 other oil companies.

Union president Robert Goss says he is "very disappointed" with the outcome of the strike that had put an emphasis on full family health coverage and other health benefits.

"We make no apologies that we didn't get it (full health benefits)," Goss said, adding that "we can't compete with the raw power of the multinationals."

The union did gain wage hikes totaling about 10 percent of the average \$9.55 per hour paid to oil refinery workers.

On family health care, the company, which now pays about \$84 per month per family toward medical expenses, will raise its contribution to about \$120 per month in the second year of the contract.

OCAW unionists also won a sixth week of vacation after 30 years.

Fire Fighters return to work

The Chicago firefighters ended their 23-day strike in the wee hours of March 8 with what Mayor Jane Byrne called an "agreement" and the union called a "contract." The semantic difference is an indication that the power struggle that erupted in the strike, as firefighters attempted to win their first contract, will continue through the next six to eight months of negotiations, fact-finding and more negotiations and then arbitration.



OCAW health and safety director Anthony Mazzocchi, seen here with striking nuclear plant workers, is a vocal opponent of chemical hazards, including pesticides.

The final decision, however, can be rejected by the city council. If so, the firefighters could be out on strike again.

In the interim, the city agreed to increase the number of firefighters on the trucks and to institute a grievance procedure. Although the city also agreed to a request that fines and jail penalties against the union and its leaders be dropped, some fines were upheld by the judge and the five-month contempt sentence against local president Frank Muscare was not lifted.

Rev. Jesse Jackson of PUSH and the 400 black firefighters in the force of over

4,000 were the key elements in bringing about the compromise settlement. There had always been submerged racial issues in the strike in part because the fire department has a long history of discrimination against blacks and Latinos in hiring and promotion. Since there was a court order to increase minority hiring, disproportionate numbers of the newly hired strikebreakers—drawn from existing recruiting lists—were also black. Some black firemen also felt torn between union solidarity and their concern for the poor black families that are the most common fire victims.

Conference on pesticides slated

California, the nation's number one user of pesticides, will be the site later this month for a two-day anti-pesticide conference featuring Barry Commoner, *Politics of Cancer* author Samuel Epstein, and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union health and safety director Anthony Mazzocchi.

The group says it will show how every person in the state of California could save \$10 and at the same time have the threat of pesticide poisoning cut in half.

The March 28-29 event in Berkeley will also include representatives of groups from the Pacific Northwest, where miscarriages and other effects of herbicide spraying have begun to be documented in recent years.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe is expected to perform during the two-day conference.

For more details, contact the Coordinating Committee on Pesticides, 1057 Solano Ave., No. 106, Albany, Calif. 94706. Their telephone number is (415) 526-7141.

Byrne had met with Jackson and offered a new affirmative action hiring plan with the intimation that she expected him to work with her to end the strike. Black firefighters approached Jackson as well, and he entered in the fray as a supporter of the strikers. Both sides saw him as holding the balance of power, assuming he could persuade black firefighters to stay out or go back to work. In exchange for the affirmative action plan, Jackson urged the union to return without total amnesty for strikers and pressured city hall for signing the agreement—or contract.

In some ways the final agreement was not as good as an earlier proposal that the union had rejected, and few of the union's goals are firmly recognized in the document. But it represents a very tentative, partial achievement in the drive for collective bargaining for public employees in Chicago.

—David Moberg

Rockwell hears from stockholders

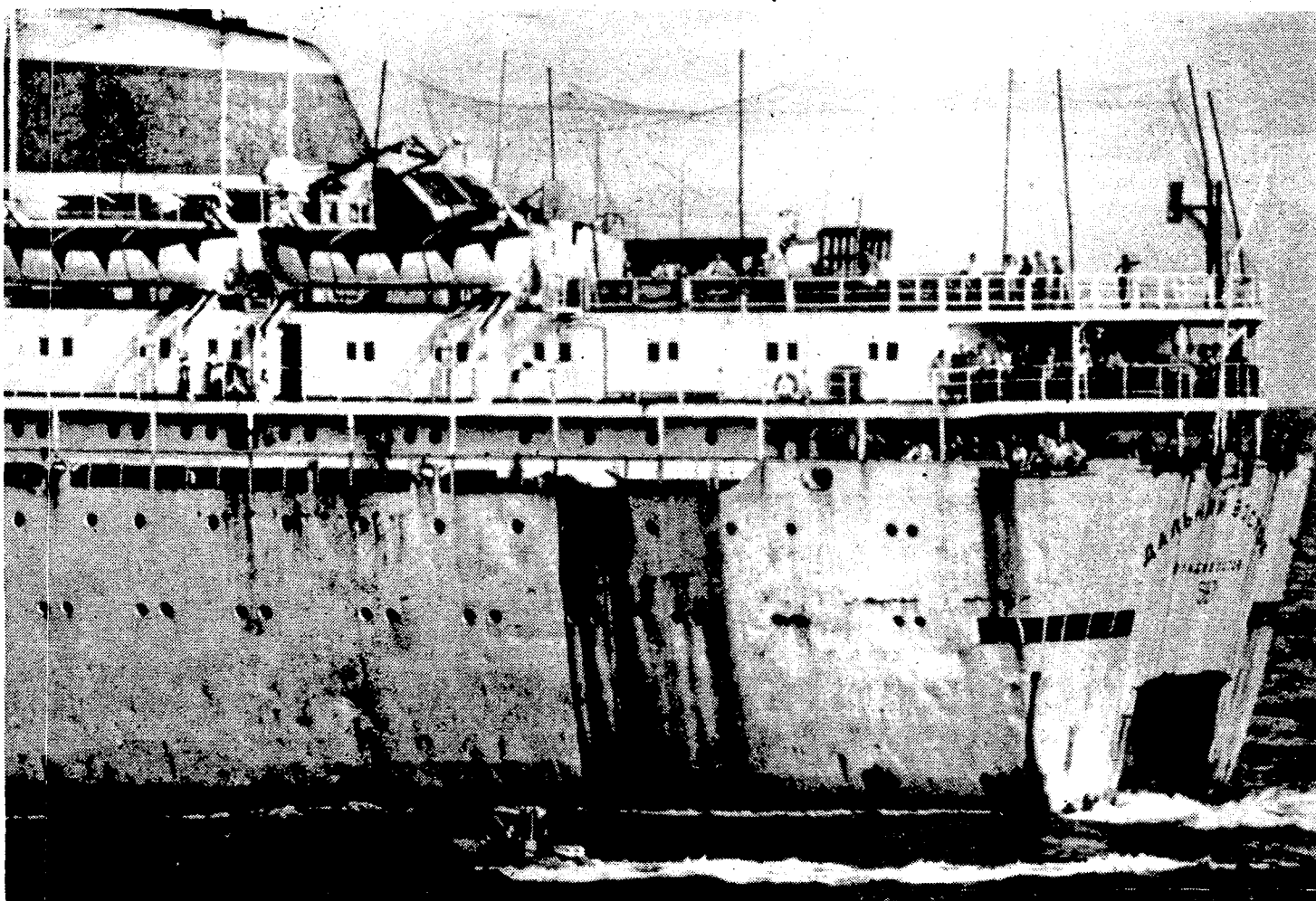
About one million Rockwell International stockholders—3.5 percent of the total shareholders—sided with a stockholder resolution brought by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility calling on the company to officially consider converting its Rocky Flats, Colo., nuclear weapons operation to non-nuclear, peaceful use.

The Interfaith Center, representing about five different religious groups, buys stock in companies for the sole purpose of gaining admittance to shareholder meetings in order to propose resolutions to be presented to voters in proxy materials.

The group has also recently demonstrated against the makers of baby formulas—including American Home Products, Bristol Myers and the Nestle Company—over their marketing dehydrated milk in countries known to have contaminated drinking water.

Denver American Friends Service Committee staff member Pam Solo told IN THESE TIMES that despite their failure to change corporate policy, the Center hopes to pressure Rockwell with a blockade of company college recruiters this spring.

Rockwell's board of directors said a study of possible plant modification at Rocky Flats would have been "inappropriate and impractical" since the Department of Energy owns the company-operated facility.



Prior to the Cherbourg action, Greenpeace actions focused on whaling practices. Here a Greenpeace raft pickets ship "Vostok."

Greenpeace activists blockade nuclear cargo

Greenpeace, the environmental group that has fought whalers using small, inflatable rafts, has taken on the nuclear industry in the waters off Cherbourg, France.

On land, the action by Greenpeace's Rainbow Warrior has been supported by French unionists who threatened what Zodiac News Service called an all-out strike after French officials arrested the

boat's crew after their non-violent attempt to prevent the unloading of nuclear material bound for a French atomic reprocessing plant.

French authorities seized the Greenpeace vessel, arresting skipper John Castle and other crew members after they failed to heed a warning to stay out of French waters, Zodiac said.

No charges were pressed, however, af-

ter local Cherbourg citizens protested the arrests and a local trade union threatened a strike until the crew and protestors were released. Meanwhile, the ship's cargo was unloaded and it left French waters.

Greenpeace organizer Peter Wilkinson says the Rainbow Warrior crew is now in England, planning another attempt to block radioactive waste shipping to France slated for this month.

IN THE NATION

ENERGY

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALMOST A FULL YEAR AFTER it was first proposed by President Carter, the windfall profits tax is finally nearing passage in the Congress.

In early March, a House-Senate conference committee agreed to a compromise bill that would generate an estimated \$227.3 billion in federal revenues over the next 10 years. The conference bill passed the House on March 13 and is expected to pass the Senate soon, despite a threatened filibuster by oil-state senators.

Initially acknowledged by supporters and opponents alike as the political price for decontrol of domestic oil prices, the bill now has become something more. At the intersection of government's two most intractable problems, energy and inflation, it has been turned into the convenient carrier for a number of highly visible political symbols in this election year.

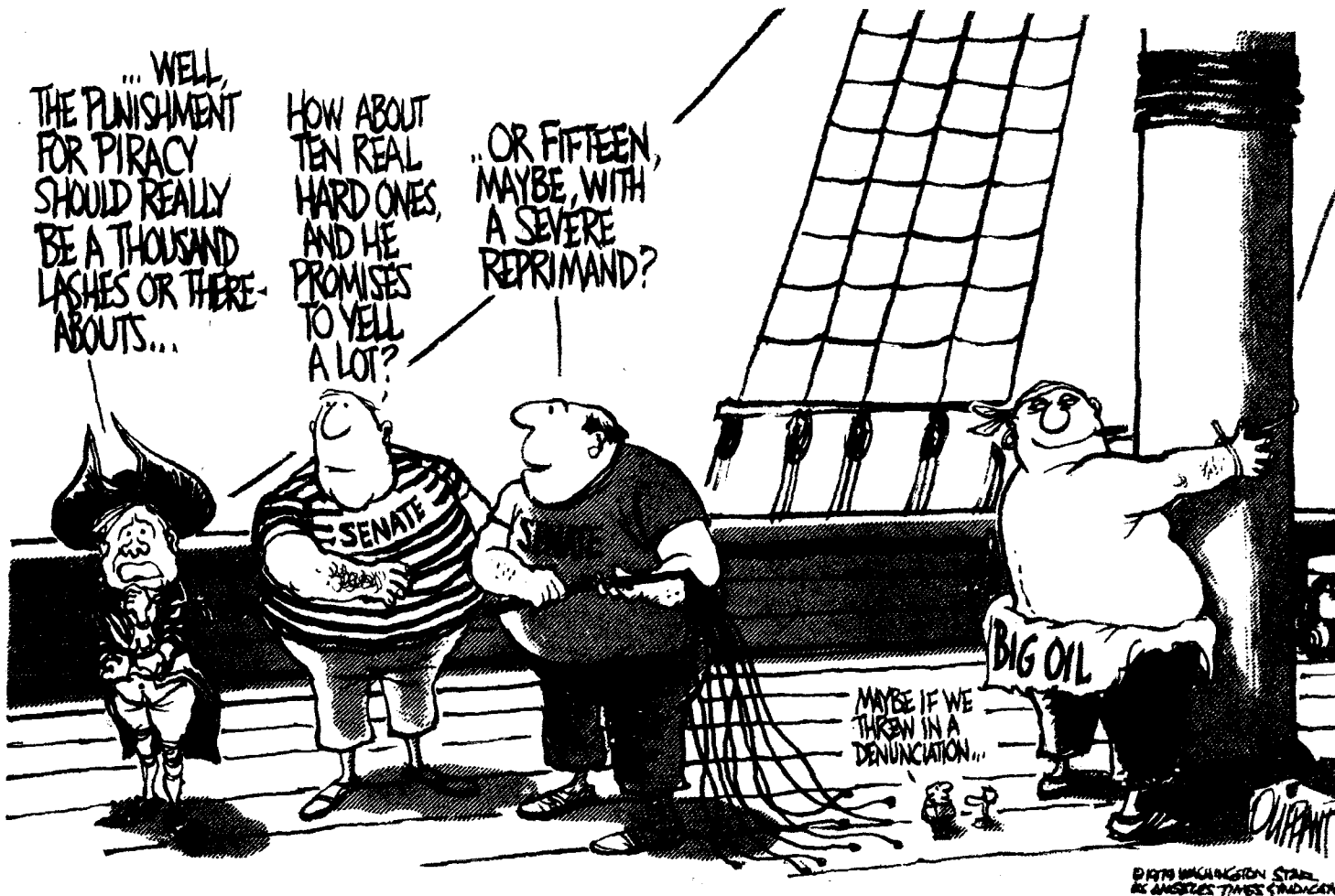
Strictly speaking, the windfall profits tax is not a tax on profits at all. It is an excise or severance tax on every barrel of domestic oil sold above the "base price" in effect before decontrol began last spring. The difference between the selling price and the base price (minus an adjustment for state severance taxes and royalties) is the "windfall profit" subject to the tax.

Domestic oil is divided into three categories or "tiers." Old oil, discovered before 1979, is taxed at 70 percent of the windfall when produced by the major oil companies and 50 percent on the first thousand barrels per day produced by independents. For stripper oil (from wells that pump less than ten barrels per day) the rates are 60 percent and 30 percent respectively. Finally, new oil, certain heavy oils, and the hard-to-retrieve incremental tertiary oil are taxed at 30 percent for both majors and independents.

The conference committee's estimates of revenues from the bill are based on a world price of \$30 per barrel adjusted for the rate of inflation plus 2 percent for each of the 10 years of the bill's life. This estimate is probably conservative, which makes the dollar amounts cited in the bill only rough approximations, "give or take a few billion." But whatever the actual take on the tax, it should reduce the extra profits flowing to the companies as a result of decontrol by a little more than half—under present assumptions, from \$600 billion down to \$297 billion.

But even with the tax, oil company earnings are expected to double overnight as a result of decontrol. For every barrel of oil at the new \$30 world price, the government will get \$12 and the company will keep \$18—twice the controlled price of about \$9. It is estimated that the oil industry will add an extra \$25 to \$30 billion to their earnings in each of the ten years covered by the bill, an annual sum equivalent to their record-breaking profits of 1979.

The conference committee bill also targets spending of the \$227.3 billion in revenues to three general purposes. Fifteen percent is directed to energy and transportation projects. Twenty-five percent has been set aside for low-income energy assistance, including an immediate \$3.1 billion in direct block grants to the states for low-income heating and cooling costs. The majority of the tax proceeds, 60 percent, has been reserved for tax cuts for businesses and individuals. But these categories are largely symbolic; actual allocation of the monies will require new votes in Congress on specific programs. Several riders attached to the bill do expand existing programs, including \$8.3 billion in business tax incentives (\$6.2 billion of which is in energy tax



Compromise windfall profits bill avoids spending issue

credits) and \$600 million in residential energy tax credits. But these programs will be funded out of general revenues, not from the windfall tax itself.

Changing roles.

From the beginning, the windfall profits tax has had one purpose: to make decontrol politically and economically palatable. But the longer the bill has tarried in Congress, the more its original conception has been modified. For one, rapidly rising oil prices have completely transformed the scope of the bill's revenues. What began as \$104 billion at \$20-per-barrel prices in the White House bill last spring climbed as high as \$277 billion at \$30 prices in the final House version before the conference committee.

At the same time, competing ideas about how the money should be spent have reshaped the bill at least four times. At the height of the Camp David crisis last summer, when the administration was desperately searching for a credible energy policy, the tax proposed by the White House became a mechanism to bankroll the "Energy Security Trust Fund," including the \$88-billion Synthetic Fuels Corporation.

The House, on the other hand, refused to specify how the money was to be spent. The Ways and Means Committee put together a stronger tax than the White House only to see it weakened on the House floor by an alliance of oil-state representatives. This brought the House bill more in line with the White House version, though it retained its character as a "tax bill."

In the Senate, Russell Long's Finance Committee changed the thrust of the bill again. First, the tax was made even weaker, but because of the new \$30-per-barrel assumptions, projected revenues from the Senate bill increased to \$160 billion (compared to \$277 billion in the House bill).

Even more important, the bill once again became an "energy bill" although not the kind that the White House had hoped for. Instead of the Energy Security Trust Fund, the bill was loaded with every kind of "alternative energy" tax

credit imaginable. Before committee members were through, there were more proposed tax credits than there were tax monies to fund them.

Thus began the process of—in chairman Long's words—"putting the genie back in the bottle." When the dust had cleared after a month of mark-up and a month on the Senate floor, the tax credits were pared to \$25 billion, independent producers were exempt from the tax for their first thousand barrels per day, and through some last-minute amendments by Senate liberals, a few loop-holes were tightened and exemptions removed, which increased revenues to \$177 billion.

The compromise.

The relatively strong House tax bill and the weaker Senate energy bill collided in the conference committee. Three decisions were made rather easily. A total amount was set for the tax by splitting the difference, thus the \$227.3 billion figure. To pay for it, independents lost their exemption (although they retained a moderately lower tax in two out of three categories), and the tax on new oil was increased from 10 to 30 percent. And because of adamant opposition to tax credits on the part of the House conferees, the energy tax credits and incentives were again reduced to around \$9 billion and separated from the windfall tax revenues.

But the major issue of how the tax monies would be used eluded the conferees. In the end, they decided not to decide. According to an economist on the Ways and Means staff, "They were just sort of floundering around and they knew if they started apportioning the money they'd be getting into a terribly bloody situation." Targeting over half the bill's proceeds to tax cuts is convenient election-year imagery and "just gimmickery," according to a Treasury Department lobbyist.

So, a bill that so many expected to do so much—from bankrolling an energy crusade to funding tax credits to underwriting massive tax cuts—really does very little, in the short term anyway. It

merely sets the boundaries for future budget battles. For this reason, it is difficult to decide just who won and who lost in the windfall profits tax.

Congressional liberals evince a certain defensive pleasure about the outcome. "Given the shape of the Congress, where the power is right now, it's not an atrocity," said one legislative assistant. Added Bob MacIntyre of the Naderite Tax Reform Research Group, "I'm relieved that it's not worse. I think generally we won."

But even if liberals have won the windfall profits battle, it is only a rear-guard action in a losing war. From the beginning, the major oil companies have understood the political necessity of a tax to wash down the bitter pill of decontrol. They can hardly be said to have lost for the simple reason that they never seriously fought the tax.

Nor did the independent producers lose, despite their vocal criticisms of the bill and the blustering of a few oil-state lawmakers. Independents will pay approximately \$22.5 billion, about 10 percent of the total tax. "They don't know a good thing when they see it," remarked another Ways and Means staffer.

But the real winner in the windfall profits tax is probably Jimmy Carter—and not only because the tax serves as a long-awaited *post facto* justification for decontrol. There is a great deal of speculation that the swollen sums collected by the tax may be enlisted to help diminish the federal deficit. "This whole thing is just going to turn into a budget balancer," said one congressional aide.

This could be the most winning symbol of all. The Carter administration can paper over the contradictions between its energy and inflation policy by killing two birds with one stone: "fight" the energy crisis by raising energy prices and "fight" galloping inflation by balancing the budget with the help of the windfall profits tax. As one alternative energy lobbyist remarked, "If the government ever had an incentive for lower energy prices, they sure as hell don't now."

Robert Howard writes for IN THESE TIMES from Washington, D.C.

UNIONS

Lettuce strike continues

Twenty growers in the Imperial Valley have signed with the union, while another seven have been cited for labor violations.

By Sam Kushner

CALEXIO, CA.

THE HARVEST IS NEARLY OVER in California's Imperial Valley, but the two-year-old farmworkers strike against lettuce and vegetable growers in this area shows no signs of abating. At a February rally to commemorate Rufino Contreras—shot down on a picket line in the first year of the strike—members of the United Farmworkers Union pledged to keep the pressure on in seven unresolved labor disputes in the valley. Twenty growers have signed contracts with the UFW since the strike began on Jan. 19, 1979.

Symbolic of the UFW's growing influence in this border city of 15,000 is its new headquarters in "El Hoyo," right on the Mexican-American border, where thousands of workers gather every morning to board the buses for the surrounding ranches. There too the black-bordered union flag was flown at half mast the week before the memorial mass. The modern building, which formerly housed the employment insurance offices for the area, is the property of the city of Calexico and has been rented to the UFW for \$1,000 per month, much to the consternation of the growers.

The focus of the Imperial Valley strike is the Bruce Church Ranch, the third largest lettuce grower in the nation and a long-time foe of the union. The UFW's national boycott against the firm's "Red Coach" lettuce is aimed at weakening the ranch's resistance to negotiating with the union.

At the settled ranches the UFW has managed to upgrade the basic labor rate



A mourner at the memorial service for Rufino Contreras.

from \$3.70 to \$5.00 an hour. The impact of the UFW agreements is reflected in comments by Jerry Breshears, executive secretary-treasurer of Local P78-B of the AFL-CIO United Food and Commercial Workers, which represents shed workers in California, Arizona, and New Mexico.

"For the first time, the basic labor rate for field hands is higher than it is for shed workers," Breshears said. "Our rate now is \$4.70 an hour and our contracts come up for renewal soon. Because of what the field workers accomplished this year, many of our members are demanding that we go out for a

dollar-an-hour raise.

But while UFW wage settlements have resulted in upgrading wages throughout much of the California agricultural community, little attention has been paid to the other benefits won by the UFW members in these same agreements. This is how Ann Smith describes the settlements reached in Salinas and at some of the Imperial Valley lettuce and vegetable ranches.

"The key feature [of the settlement] is a much better wage and benefit package than we have ever had before—about a 35 percent increase just in the first year for general labor. The increase for other

hourly classifications and piece rates is anywhere from 35 to 45 percent and then of course there are increases in the second and third years of the agreement."

The union also won a cost-of-living clause—a first in the vegetable industry. The cost-of-living adjustment is made on an annual basis every July and has a CAP of 25 cents (less than the union wanted). In addition the union has more than doubled the company contribution to the union's medical plan and won improvements in the pension fund, the vacation plan, and travel pay.

Some of the union members feel that the most important gain was the "paid union representative system," which the union had listed as "top priority." Under this system, full or part-time union representatives are paid by the company to enforce the contract.

When the lettuce strike erupted in Imperial Valley last year the number of strikebreakers that the companies were able to recruit was minimal.

But Jessica Govea, UFW executive board member who is directing the strike in the lettuce and vegetable fields, says that the growers have now put together a fair amount of strikebreakers—some illegals, some local people who would not scab in the past, some workers brought in from Arizona.

Nevertheless, Govea said, she is confident that the effect of the union's boycott will be to bring the struck ranches into line. And she emphasized that "at the struck companies, almost no workers who were working at these companies before the strike have returned to work for them. That says a tremendous amount about how people feel about this strike."

Strikers are paid \$25 a week in strike benefits. In addition, the union's supporters have contributed more than a half million dollars worth of food to assist strikers' families, most of it collected by the National Farm Worker Ministry from labor, community and church organizations throughout California.

As the farmworkers began the annual trek back to the Salinas Valley, site of numerous victories last year, word came down of a favorable ruling by the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) on the conduct of 11 California growers, including the seven holdout ranches in the Imperial Valley. ALRB hearing officer Jennie Rhine, after conducting extensive hearings in Salinas and El Centro, ruled on March 11 that the 11 had failed to bargain in good faith with the UFW. That decision, which growers plan to appeal to the full five-member ALRB, could mean that some 15,000 farmworkers are entitled to more than a year of wages for the time that they have been on strike.

Sam Kushner writes on labor from Los Angeles.

CONSUMERS

Jurors who acquitted Ford wouldn't drive a Pinto

By James Warren

DON'T BE MISLED BY THE verdict of 12 "heartland" jurors who found Ford Motor Co. not guilty of reckless homicide. They may have a better idea for their fellow Americans—don't buy a Pinto or, for that matter, most other subcompacts.

Lost in the hoopla over Ford's expensive, desperately sought acquittal were the reasons jurors voted the way they did, and one unsettling fact: They walked away from a nine-week submersion in the auto industry with grave suspicions about the light, inexpensive products that are Detroit's wave of the future.

The \$1.5 million Ford defense, orchestrated with aplomb by former Watergate prosecutor James F. Neal, seemed overwhelming at times. Yet to the surprise of courtroom observers and lawyers, it was less a matter of what Ford did that what the state of Indiana *didn't* do that turned the jury.

"I felt the Pinto was a reckless auto-

mobile," said juror James A. Yurgilas, a mobile homes salesman who nearly hung the jury. "But the state couldn't adequately prove Ford didn't do everything in its power to recall it...I'm somewhat upset by the decision."

When the jury took the first of 25 votes, four members, including Yurgilas, believed Ford guilty. Only the very grudging switch by Yurgilas ended 25 hours of exhausting deliberation.

Yurgilas finally switched because he, like the others, had to admit the state failed to prove one element of the indictment that received little press attention.

The state had to prove that between July 1, 1978, the day the relevant Indiana reckless homicide statute took effect, and Aug. 10, 1978, the day three Indiana girls died in the fiery rear-end crash, Ford "recklessly omitted to warn" the Pintos' owners that the car might have problems.

Most of the trial was spent on the issue of the car's safety—by the claims and counterclaims about the Pinto's make-up and by Judge Harold Staffeldt's

frequently ambiguous rulings that ultimately forbade the state to use possibly damaging Ford documents relating to the car's safety. Little time at the trial—and very little space in press accounts—was devoted to the "recklessly omitted to warn" issue. Sure, Ford made clear the girls' car had changed ownership six times. Sure, a proper recall notice had erroneously, if understandably, gone out to the previous owner. But wasn't the jury's unique burden to decide whether Ford disregarded "acceptable standards of conduct" in manufacturing the car? As it turned out, not really.

"I kept waiting for them [prosecutors] to drop a big bomb, to stop wasting my time," said Janet Olsen, 31, a truck driver who was perhaps the juror most knowledgeable about cars. She also typified juror reactions on other issues.

They had serious doubts about the prosecution's contention that there was a high difference in speed between the Pinto and the van that struck it. And they didn't really believe the state's chief auto design consultant. They much pre-

ferred the seeming sincerity of Ford engineers who worked on the Pinto and bought the car for their families.

Yet jurors didn't buy Ford's very expensive crash tests of Pintos and other cars, filmed just for the trial, or Ford's much-publicized "surprise" witness—hospital employees who revealed deathbed testimony from one girl.

And, really, if you thought about it, their message to America did have a "heartland" logic to it. They are people who mostly drive pickups and big cars. They generally think somebody who scoots about in a small "foreign type" car is a little nuts, probably some liberal from a big city.

"By my own standards, the car wasn't safe enough," said Roger Tanner, 31, a farmer. Yet he voted not guilty for about the same reason that Olsen, the truck driver, did.

"I don't believe the Pinto is as safe as a large car and anybody with a brain knows that," said Olsen. "But we as Americans, have the freedom of choice."

You don't have to buy a car like the Pinto, she believes, and shouldn't. ■

NUCLEAR POWER

Proposed 'venting' of TMI reactor raises new fears

"It is a chance for us to explain the venting of Krypton and relieve public anxiety over this gas."



Metropolitan Edison executive Robert Arnold.

By Greg Moyer

MIDDLETOWN, P.A.

LAST WEEK THE CURTAIN ROSE on act two of the accident at Three Mile Island. A team of workers for the Metropolitan Edison Company donned white radiation suits and yellow plastic boots to enter a contaminated airlock for the first time since a cooling pump failure triggered the worst accident in commercial nuclear history nearly one year ago.

The probers stayed just long enough to take radiation samples and peer through a three-inch window into the containment building of the crippled Unit Two reactor. What they saw was 600,000 gallons of highly radioactive water seven feet deep on the containment floor. In the center of the cylindrical structure stood the reactor vessel holding a badly damaged core where as many as 50 to 60 percent of the 55,000 zirconium-encased uranium fuel rods have collapsed into a radioactive rubble estimated to be 2,000 times "hotter" than the Hiroshima bomb.

But the earliest phenomenon was the steam. It is billowing constantly inside the containment. Radioactive water evaporating near the floor rises as vapor and condenses on the ceiling. The droplets fall back into the contaminated pool. On its journey the water mixes in an atmosphere out with 55,000 curies of Krypton-85, an inert gas that emits both beta and gamma radiation. It is this gas, with its half-life of 10.7 years, that occupies the thoughts and motivates the actions of the players as the accident moves into a new phase.

In the 12 months since the near meltdown last March 28, Unit Two has been cooling off naturally. Water from the primary coolant system bathes the radioactive core in boron and carries excess heat to the steam generator. Something of an equilibrium has been reached, with the fission reaction kept to very low levels. But Met-Ed and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) warn that this gentle balance cannot continue indefinitely.

Maintenance systems, such as the air conditioning fans, have been running constantly for a year in an atmosphere of 100 percent humidity. The fans are important because they keep the air pressure in the containment below outside levels. Should the temperature—and thus the pressure—rise inside the

four-foot-thick walls of steel and concrete, the containment is bound to spring leaks around seals, gaskets and flanges.

Each passing day increases the possibility that critical instrumentation will fail. Reactor operators are now relying on a single probe to monitor the "neutron flux" of the core and tell them whether the reactions remain at subcritical levels.

For these reasons—and critics suspect others—Metropolitan Edison has requested permission to release the 55,000 curies of Krypton-85 into the atmosphere over a span of 51 days starting immediately. With the Krypton-85 dissipated, plant workers would have access to the equipment in the containment for longer periods of time and servicing could commence.

The environmental trade-off is this: a person standing at the plant gate for the entire duration of the venting would receive 11 millirems skin-dose beta radiation and 0.2 millirems total-body gamma radiation. For comparison, the federal standard for a "safe" dose of radiation is 170 millirems annually. The general public's average exposure from background radiation and other sources is estimated at about 100 millirems per year. The report issued by the federal government in the wake of the accident last March concluded that no person was exposed to more than 100 millirems of gamma rad-

"The people of this country must know that the accident isn't over yet."



Anti-nuclear activist Judith Johnsrud.

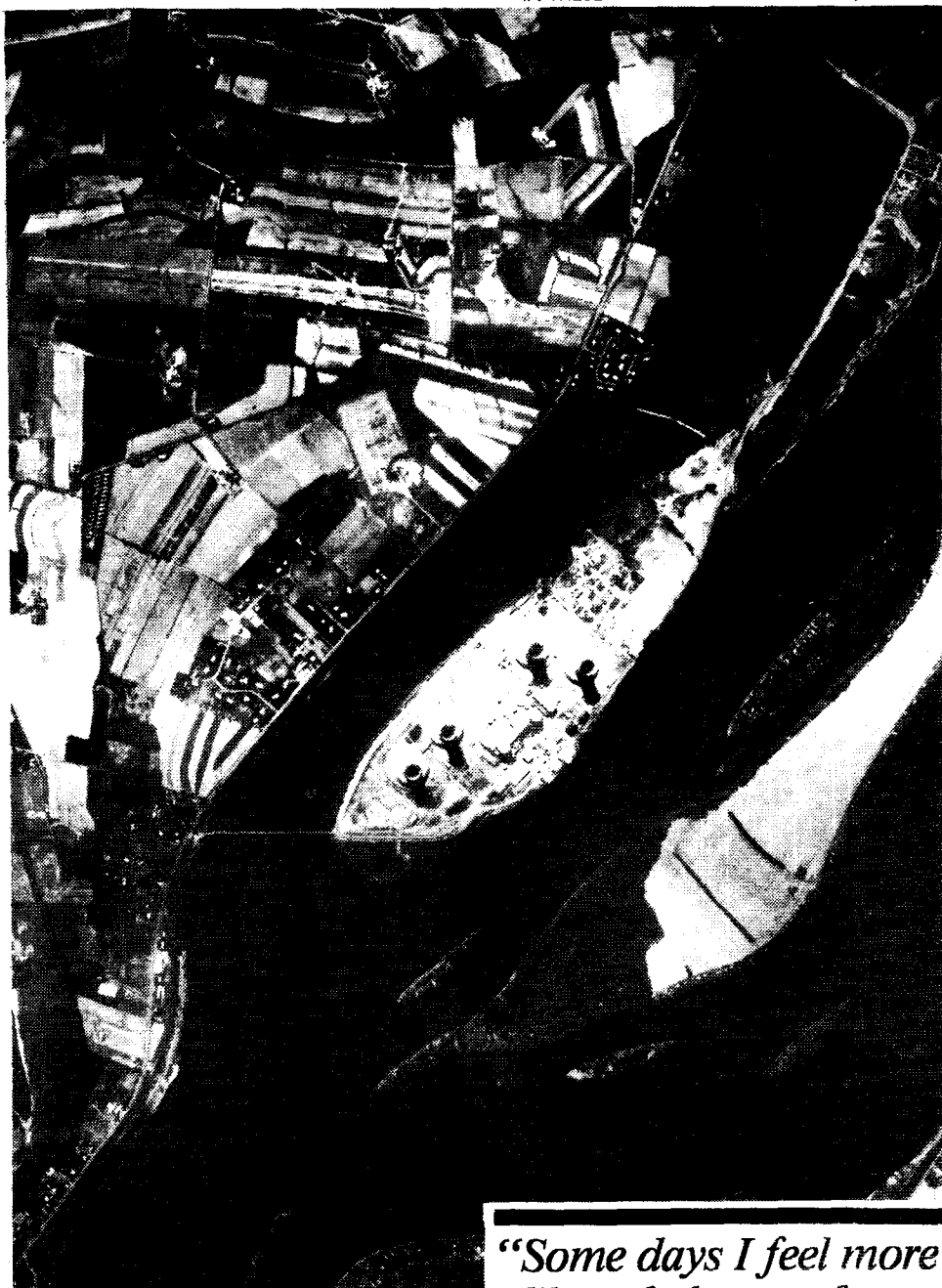
iation during the time of the uncontrolled releases. Monitors indicated that about 13 million curies escaped through the stack of the auxiliary building at that time. (Some scientists have questioned the extremely low personal-dose figures given the large number of curies released.)

Harold Denton, director of the NRC's Office of Nuclear Regulation, endorsed the controversial purging last week. Normally, Denton's word is final in such matters, but this decision rests with the five commissioners of the NRC, who are expected to rule on the venting in about a month.

New fears.

Television and newspaper photos of suited-up workers entering the airlock have ended a period of relative tranquility for the residents of river towns in south central Pennsylvania. Once again the talk in the streets and in public forums expresses fears for people's health and safety. As plans and proposals for the clean-up emerge, a new reality is beginning to sink in: the trauma of TMI is far from over.

"The airlock entry and the venting of



An aerial view of the Three Mile Island nuclear facility.

small amounts of Krypton-85 is of symbolic importance as the first step in the clean-up of Unit Two," said Robert Arnold, a senior vice president of Metropolitan Edison. "It is a chance for us to explain the venting of Krypton and relieve the public anxiety over this gas."

He told reporters that neither the airlock mission nor the containment purge represent any threat to public safety. He estimated the total cost of cleaning up the 917-megawatt reactor at \$400 million, and predicted decontamination would take four years. The NRC has said five or six years is more realistic.

For Mickey Minnich, the football coach at nearby Steelton-Highspire High School, the re-entry points to a larger issue. "If we accept what they [Met-Ed] did the last three days, then we are starting to accept their whole rationale which leads to firing up Unit Two in four or five years," said Minnich, who first spoke out against nuclear power before the Kemeny Commission last spring.

The options.

Though Met-Ed's proposal for purging the containment may be the best option available, many people in Middletown are skeptical. An already rocky relationship between the town and the utility was strained further this winter when twice in one week radioactive gas leaked from the crippled reactor.

"Some days I feel more like a father confessor or a psychiatrist than a nuclear engineer."



John T. Collins of the NRC's Technical Support staff.

During the first accident both the company and the NRC denied any gas had escaped. Later the same evening a Met-Ed spokesman admitted some 300 millicuries of Krypton-85 had dispersed through the stack. Met-Ed had failed to notify either the Dauphin County Office of Emergency Preparedness or the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency of the accident.

Two days later another leak of Krypton-85 was discovered coming from air sampling equipment in the auxiliary building. This time the utility followed the proper emergency procedures, but

Continued on page 10.

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SHUTDOWNS

Court to rule on Youngstown closings

By Eric Leif Davin

THE RIGHT OF A GIANT CORPORATION to close down its plants at will was challenged March 17 in Youngstown, Ohio. Appearing before U.S. District Court Judge Thomas D. Lambros, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, representing two steelworker locals, argued that the U.S. Steel Corporation had made a verbal contract with its Youngstown workers to keep the Ohio and MacDonald works in Youngstown open if they could be made profitable—a condition the workers met, he claimed.

In addition, Clark contended that U.S. Steel was using its monopoly power to destroy competition in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. In support of this, Clark quoted a Jan. 31 statement by David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel, that "we aren't interested in subsidizing competition." The workers are seeking the purchase of the affected U.S. Steel mill by their own organization, the Community Steel Corporation, but U.S. Steel has consistently opposed the transaction.

Judge Lambros issued a temporary restraining order forbidding U.S. Steel from closing the mills until he reached a decision on the steelworkers' suit. This action alone, U.S. Steel representatives said, is costing the corporation at least \$1,100,000 a week.

"America is entering a profound economic and human crisis," Clark said, "What happens when families have staked decades—generations—on the economic vitality of an area and a corporation decides that it is no longer interested in that region? Do the workers have a right to protect certain regional necessities against managerial whims?"

In 1937, Clark continued, Charles Evans Hughes of the U.S. Supreme Court stated that an emergency may bring about an unprecedented exercise of power on the part of the legislature. What steelworkers ask, Clark maintained, is that the court exercise its power to meet a new national emergency.

Clark then explained that, although the verbal contract he is seeking to enforce was unusual, it did contain the traditional elements of a contract. In September 1977 U.S. Steel, recognizing the declining productivity of the Ohio and MacDonald works (built in the late 1890s) began to promise to the community and to the workers that if the mills could be made profitable they would stay open.

For 26 months those promises were constantly repeated. The unions, relying



The workers are claiming that they kept their end of a verbal agreement with U.S. Steel to save the Youngstown mills.

on these promises, began to seek ways to reduce costs and increase productivity, and, Clark said, they succeeded in bringing costs down and production up. For example, U.S. Steel's newest mill in Baytown, Texas, which produces about the same products as the older Youngstown mills, was consistently out-produced by the Youngstown facilities.

As late as September 1979, two months before the announcement that the Youngstown mills were to be closed, William Kirwan, supervisor of the Youngstown mills, told the workers, "You've saved your jobs." Even after the announcement of the mills closings, the workers approached U.S. Steel with a package of concessions worth \$6 million, but U.S. Steel remained uninterested. The workers more than kept their part of the bargain, said Clark. U.S. Steel did not.

"Suppose that U.S. Steel meant to milk the last drop of profitability from

its workers with such promises. Is it conceivable," asked Clark, "that the law would not give redress for such a wrong? We don't have to go on wasting like this, ripping up families and disrupting communities! Technology does not make moral judgments. But this court has that opportunity for this community and for the nation."

Charles Clarke, a top corporate lawyer from Cleveland representing U.S. Steel, replied that the decision had to be made on facts and the law, not on the "purple prose" of Ramsey Clark which played to the prejudices of Youngstown. Charles Clarke then went on to state that it was inconceivable that concerned remarks by U.S. Steel officials to the public and the workers could be held as a binding contract. To believe that, he declared, is to violate the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution by authorizing the seizure of the property of U.S. Steel's 255,000 shareholders, "most of whom

are widows and orphans," without due process of law.

It was, said Judge Lambros, "a clear joining of the issue." It is a clash of traditional property rights with the rights of a community. But, said Lambros, "U.S. Steel cannot leave the Mahoning valley in a complete state of waste. We're not talking about a local grocery store in Youngstown that's planning to close. And it's not just a steel company making steel. If we take this and review it from a political, historical and sociological viewpoint, steel has become an institution in the Mahoning Valley."

At the end of the trial's first day, Ramsey Clark observed to the team of steelworkers' lawyers that "if we can just give Judge Lambros something to hang his hat on, he will rule in our favor." Staughton Lynd, the steelworker lawyer handling the bulk of the arguments, commented, "It was a positive day in court. This is a good beginning."

SPYING

Carter moves to "unleash" the CIA

By Robert A. Manning

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JIMMY CARTER, WHO RODE INTO the White House on promises to end the secrecy and abuses of the Watergate era, is now moving to roll back Congressional restrictions on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and limit public access to agency records.

Seizing on the opportunity offered by the present Cold War climate, the administration is backing legislation that would "unleash" the CIA both from congressional oversight and from the disclosure requirements of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). These moves threaten a new generation of CIA "dirty tricks" and subsequent cover-ups, yet despite a few ruffled feathers in Congress, the mood on Capitol Hill seems to favor expanded freedom for the CIA as part of the new interventionist posture of U.S. foreign policy in the aftermath of Iran and Afghanistan.

Congress assumed a watchdog role over agency activities in the mid-'70s following a spate of revelations in the press and before the Senate Intelligence Committee. Disclosures about CIA spying on thousands of U.S. citizens, its plotting to assassinate Congo president Patrice Lumumba with poison darts, its ongoing conspiracy against Fidel Castro, and its bizarre mind control experiments outraged many and brought charges that

the CIA operated almost as a secret government.

But already, the Carter administration, which cut back cloak and dagger activities during its first two and a half years, is running "lots" of covert actions, according to Representative Les Aspin (D-Wisc.), who chairs the House Select Committee on Intelligence. It has been disclosed, for example, that since mid-January at least the Carter administration has been secretly funneling arms to Afghan insurgents based in Pakistan—the first time since the CIA's clandestine intervention in Angola in 1975-76 that the agency has engaged in a covert operation of this kind.

The first casualty of the policy shift on CIA activities has been the Hughes-Ryan amendment, which requires that the White House notify Congress "in a timely fashion" before spending any funds on covert operations. By voice vote on March 12 the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee agreed to discontinue such scrutiny. The new version of the amendment permits the president to order covert operations in "extraordinary" circumstances affecting "the national interest" or to protect the safety of intelligence personnel and methods. It also reduces the number of congressional committees that must be notified and drops any form of prior notification.

Perhaps most remarkable is the fact that during congressional hearings on the new legislation (called the National Intelligence Act of 1980) CIA director

Adm. Stansfield Turner admitted that the CIA had not fully abided even by the current legislation. Turner admitted that on some occasions the CIA had withheld information from Congress and also had authorized the use of journalists, clergy and academics for CIA activities. In fact, it has recently been revealed that then Attorney General Griffin Bell issued an "opinion" that freed President Carter and the CIA from strict compliance with the notification law. The "Bell opinion" ruled that appropriate notice meant only "timely" notice, which could come after the fact.

A free hand.

The obvious purpose of the new legislation is to give the CIA a free hand—or, as it is euphemistically put by supporters, "more flexibility"—by relaxing both restraints and accountability, particularly the exposure of CIA secrets through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

The present FOIA law exempts records "properly classified...in the interest of national security." Nonetheless, the CIA is seeking to halt all but the most limited of disclosures. Under pending legislation, most of the agency's operational and technical files would be out of reach of the FOIA. Public inquiries could be rejected without any outside inspection of the documents to determine if they indeed affect "national security." Lawsuits would be fruitless and files would become immune from court action.

Continued on page 18.

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IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Khomeini works to build a unified political authority

By Fred Halliday

THE PROTRACTED WRANGLE over the fate of the American hostages in Tehran has both highlighted and obscured the underlying features of the current political situation in Iran, as that country's 37 million people enter Year II of their revolution. While the hostage dispute has shown that no stable and uncontested political authority yet exists—and that deep hostility to the U.S. remains among wide sections of the population, it has also distracted the attention of outside observers (and some of the regime's own officials) from the fact that Iran faces many other, more intractable, problems than the seizure date for 50 Americans living in confinement but not intolerable conditions in a downtown office block that used to serve as an embassy.

Since the election of 46 year-old Abol-Hassan Bani-Sadr as president on Jan. 25, the government has gone a considerable way towards forging a new unified state. Bani-Sadr has been nominated both chairman of the revolutionary council and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and he enjoys a good relationship with Khomeini; the new president's own father was an Ayatollah who knew Khomeini, and Bani-Sadr has always been a pious Muslim, whatever kind of radical interpretation he has put on the social teachings of the prophet.

Khomeini has taken a number of steps to confirm Bani-Sadr as an effective head of state, within the confines of the new Islamic Constitution, which also gives strong legal powers to the *Vali Amr*, the interpreter of religious law. Khomeini prevented religious leaders from running in the presidential elections, and has announced that his own political office, which used to issue orders that prevailed over those of the government itself, will be closed. In a symbolic move that will lessen the split within the ruling powers, Khomeini has also announced that henceforth he will live in Tehran. Once a new parliament is elected and a cabinet chosen, the revolutionary council will be dissolved.

But Bani-Sadr has many enemies, on both left and right, who do not accept the legitimacy of his 75 percent majority in the presidential elections. Although he has his own newspaper, *Islamic Revolution*, he does not have a party, and some of his policies are unpopular. Indeed, his outspoken criticism of the "Students Following the Imam's Line," as the embassy occupiers are officially termed, is not something that rallies crowds in Tehran.

U.S. intransigence.

The reason for the new president's difficulties on this score is simple enough: anti-American feeling still runs high in Iran and the Carter administration has done little to lessen it. Indeed, Carter's systematic refusal to apologize for the policies of successive U.S. administrations has only confirmed the feeling of many Iranians that the U.S. has not learned from its defeat in Iran a year ago.

Yet the administration has done three things in particular. First, it has organized the 1979 coup that ousted the democrat-

But the hostage issue continues to divert attention from pressing economic and social problems.

ically elected government of Dr. Mosadeq and re-installed the Shah. Second, of having collaborated with and supported SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, which killed many hundreds of people and tortured many thousands after the CIA and FBI set it up in 1957. And third, of having allowed a swarm of American government and business people to loot Iran's oil revenues over the years by bribing Iranian officials to purchase armaments and consumer goods that Iran did not need and from which the mass of people derived no benefit.

There is no doubt about factual basis for these charges. The CIA for years boasted about its 1953 triumph and just prior to the embassy seizure on Nov. 4 of last year the organizer of the coup, Kermit Roosevelt, published a gushing and self-congratulatory account of his exploits. The book was then hurriedly withdrawn, and even reviewers were asked to send their copies back, allegedly on the grounds that British Petroleum, named in the book as a co-instigator of the coup, had taken out a libel suit against Roosevelt and his publisher, McGraw Hill. The text of the book, a copy of which is sitting on my desk, shows just how the CIA laid the basis for the quarter century of monarchical terrorism and corruption that was to follow.

The role of the CIA in setting up SAVAK and instructing it in interrogation techniques has been attested to by Jesse Leaf, a former CIA analyst, and there can be no doubt that—as Leaf and other CIA personnel have confirmed—the CIA at least knew about SAVAK torture throughout the years of liaison with the Shah's gestapo. As for the billions of dollars plundered by U.S. corporate and government salesmen, even the tepid revelations of the U.S. Congress make these crimes clear enough.

Yet Carter has persisted in refusing to make an apology for these actions, remarking that to raise the 1953 coup is to indulge in "ancient history." But to tell the Iranian people it is ancient history is an insult, since they have had to live with the consequences of that action for the past 25 years. It is as if Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany were to tell an Israeli audience that Auschwitz and Buchenwald were too far away in time for us to worry about them today.

The conditions that Bani-Sadr has set for the release of the hostages are far away from those originally posed when the hostages were seized: he is demanding neither the return of the Shah nor the return of the Shah's money, which even if the Iranian government has overstated the amount, still comes to a tidy sum. What Bani-Sadr has demanded is that the U.S. apologize for its past policies



Iranian oil workers march outside the U.S. embassy. The occupiers still have broad popular support.

and acknowledge Iran's right to continue extradition proceedings against the fugitive murderer who used to rule the country.

In the absence of any such U.S. recantation, the position of the new president is exposed. Prior to the legislative elections on March 14 a host of political forces were competing for public favor and one sure way to win votes has been to support the students over the embassy affair. This is why the students have been able to hold out and make fools of the revolutionary council, and this is also why Khomeini has taken a tactical

distance from Bani-Sadr on the hostage issue.

Yet nothing so far indicates that Khomeini has departed from the long-term strategy that, despite all apparent zigzags, he has pursued since coming to power in February of last year—namely to create a single new government authority backed by the clergy and framed by Islamic principles.

The faltering economy.

It is in the field of new social policies that Bani-Sadr is hoping to make his

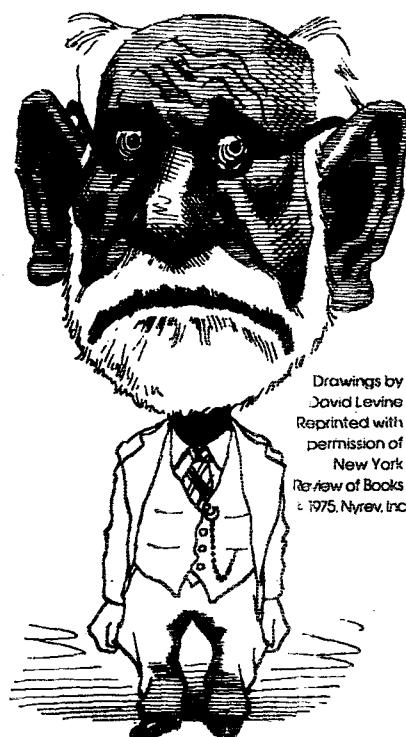
Continued on page 10.

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TMI

Continued from page 7.

was faulted by the NRC for not paying close enough attention to its radiation monitors. A state official from the Bureau of Radiological Protection was quoted at the time as saying, "This could be the first time the device leaked, or it could have been leaking all along and nobody knew it."

A recently released NRC report compares the four methods under consideration for removing the Krypton-85 from the containment. The public was not surprised to find that venting was by far the cheapest and most expedient method of disposal. Venting also exposed the community to higher levels of "safe" radiation than any of the other proposed procedures.

Met-Ed defends venting by asking critics to weight the advantages against the disadvantages. Each of the other three options carries an installation time of two to four years and a price tag of \$10 to \$160 million. Purging costs a mere \$75,000. The utility also warns that the sophisticated alternatives introduce long-term problems of security and safe storage of Krypton-85 as well as higher occupational exposures for workers on the job.

"I think they [Met-Ed] made very real economic trade-off decisions," said Chris Sayer of Three Mile Island Alert (TMIA). "When there is an option that could keep radioactivity out of the air, they should take it," he said.

At the same time Sayer does not discount the warnings of equipment failure. The extra years of waiting for a clean-up system to come on line pose a serious danger. Though TMIA went on record last August against the purge, Sayer and his staff are beginning to have second thoughts.

"I'm worried about the psychological damage to children who are taken out of school and evacuated," said Louise Bradford of TMIA. "This could be a

greater health hazard than the actual Krypton-85 release."

Bradford says the office receives a couple hundred calls a week and that people are leaving the area. "We try to calm them down and help them reach their own decisions," she said.

John T. Collins, deputy director of the TMI Technical Support Staff for the NRC, confirmed that the citizenry is worried about the venting.

"Some days I feel more like a father confessor or a psychiatrist than a nuclear engineer," said the lanky, bespectacled bureaucrat. "One woman even called to ask if I thought it was safe for her to get pregnant."

Unlike many regulators, Collins exposes himself to the public he is charged with serving. The NRC has rented a storefront at the Middletown mini-mall where Collins directs the activities of a 15-member professional staff. He keeps long office hours and encourages members of the community to stop by with their questions and requests for information.

Iran

Continued from page 9.

greatest mark. But he faces a difficult situation, with the problems from the Shah's reign now compounded by the chaotic 18 months of revolution. Official figures put unemployment between 2.5 and 4 million and oil output below its 3-million-barrels-a-day target. With many factories idle because they have no raw materials or because the workers have seized the plant, the Iranian economy is limping along, sustained by oil revenues and the self-help of the extended family.

In a recent major speech Bani-Sadr specified four major problems facing the economy: the lack of capital for business investment and trade; the shortages of spare parts and raw materials; the lack of adequate management personnel committed to the revolution; and the chaotic condition of relations in the workplace. The latter is particularly acute in indus-

Rally planned

On Saturday, March 29, a coalition of anti-nuclear groups is sponsoring a rally to Halt Nuclear Power on the east side of the Capitol grounds in Harrisburg, Pa. The stage will be shared by speakers and performers including Linda Ronstadt, Pete Seeger, John Hall, Bright Morning Star, Stephen Stills, Judith Johnsrud, Pat Smith, Paul Garver and Middletown mayor Robert Reid. For information contact the March 28 Coalition at 1037 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, or by calling (717) 233-NUKE.

He admitted he was surprised by the public outpouring in February when the two leaks were reported.

"The anxiety around here is real," he said.

According to Met-Ed's Arnold, the company's priorities are these: ensure the safety of Unit Two, acquire permission

to restart Unit One, and clean up Unit Two, in that order. Though the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission (PUC) has ordered Met-Ed to develop cost projections for converting Unit Two to coal, Arnold said the company is not wavering in its commitment to nuclear energy.

But many residents of the Middletown area are. Recently, about 100 people attended the monthly meeting of People Against Nuclear Energy (PANE), a local organization catalyzed into activity by the March 28 accident. At that meeting long-time anti-nuclear activist Judith Johnsrud told an appreciative audience that the real battle over TMI is between money and the community's health and safety. About the Krypton-85 she was more ambivalent. The doses are well within limits, she said, assuming the doses are accurate. And the equipment will break down eventually. She counseled residents to weigh all their feelings and make a decision.

"The people of this country must know," Johnsrud concluded, "that the accident isn't over yet."

try, for although no one can doubt the "revolutionary" commitment of the workers committees that have sprung up all over the country, their devotion to increased output is less certain. Precisely because the committees are usually local initiatives without ties to any wider trade union networks, it is all the harder for the government to revive production with them in place.

Bani-Sadr's economic policies are in essence those of his earlier political inspiration, Mohammad Mosadeq. Iran's oil should be used sparingly, with due regard to the country's independence. Greater emphasis should be placed upon indigenous production, especially in agriculture. And western-influenced consumer tastes should be curbed. The new president is in his habits a modest man, despite his 15 years in Paris, and he clearly expects everyone else to follow him.

The 'Islamic' character of his policy shows in at least three respects. First, the economy should be independent of foreign, that is western, influences. Second, the policy of not charging interest should be used by the banks to stimulate small producers and traders rather than the big capitalists favored by banks under the Shah. Third, the wealth of the country should be used for redistributive purposes, a kind of Islamic social democracy with the moral component coming from the Koran rather than from the writings of socialist thinkers.

Overall, this policy is a conventional one for third-world nationalist governments to pursue, and it has already been implemented in some regards: banks and factories have been nationalized, controls have been imposed on taking money out of the country, and, most importantly, in February a new land reform program was announced. Under the Shah substantial redistribution of land occurred, but output lagged and half of the 3.5 million rural families remained landless. The new law will confiscate lands belonging to large landowners and to associates of the old regime and redistribute these holdings among the previously landless. Such a reform will cer-

tainly meet demands for greater equality in the countryside; but it remains to be seen if it will lead to a sustained increase in agricultural production.

But Bani-Sadr has to cope with increased strong criticism from left and right. The pro-Soviet Tudeh Party has openly attacked him, above all for his criticism of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Both the Tudeh and the militant Fedayin guerrillas have also launched ferocious and rather short-sighted attacks on what they derisively call "liberal" elements within the regime, by which they mean people like ex-premier Bazargan, who favors settling disputes with the west. The Fedayin are, however, divided into a number of factions and while the Tudeh have a clear if cynical policy of backing Khomeini, the Fedayin, who still enjoy considerable support among young people, have not come up with a clear and independent political identity.

The radical Moslem Mojahidin incur slightly less disfavor than other groups, though their leader, Masoud Rajavi, was prevented from standing in the presidential elections. They have spoken out courageously on the need for a serious negotiation with the various rebellious national groups in the country and like the Fedayin they have had some of their activists imprisoned without trial by the Khomeini government.

It would seem to be extremely unlikely that the hostage issue can be settled prior to the convening of the legislative assembly: the first round of balloting on March 14 will be followed by a second round, at a date yet to be determined. Although it is not in substance the most important issue facing the Iranian people at the moment, it has—given the past—an immense symbolic importance and so can only be solved once the government has a relatively united country behind it. If the past role of the U.S. in Iran is a matter of ancient history, then it is an ancient history that remains very much alive.

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute in London.

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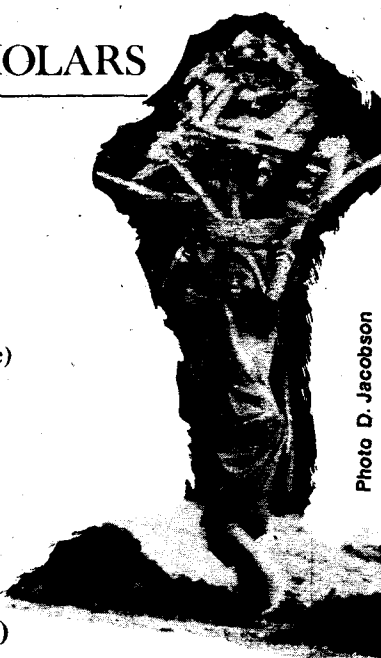


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by **PAUL N. SIEGEL**

GEORGE MARCHAIS LIKES TO remind people that he is "just a simple worker." Which is true—or was true until he became a full-time French Communist Party apparachik nearly 30 years ago. George Marchais' youth is so very obscure, and coincides with such a politically tricky period of French history—the Nazi occupation, the Resistance, the Liberation—that it repeatedly has been the target of suspicious questions and accusations ever since he became PCF secretary general 10 years ago. With Marchais getting ready to run for president of France next year, the question of the "dark hole" in his life has been raised again, louder than ever.

The controversy rages around three questions. When 22-year-old French aircraft worker George Marchais went to Augsburg, Germany, in December 1942 to work in the Messerschmitt factories, did he go as a volunteer or was he requisitioned? Did he manage to return to France five months later, as he claims, or did he stay on longer in Germany? And in any case, what was he doing between May 1943 and his official entrance into the PCF four years later?

Around these factual questions swirl various more or less libelous political suspicions. The most extreme has been voiced by Jean Francois Revel, editor in chief of the *Nouvelles* weekly *l'Express*, whose March 8 issue promised on its cover the "proof" that Marchais was still in Germany in May 1944. Revel asks out loud whether the Kremlin "has the goods" on Marchais and is using some dreadful excuse to make the PCF boss toe the Soviet line.

Revel is not the only one to seek this explanation for Marchais' recent defense of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and even for his role in breaking up the alliance with the Socialist Party. But the vast majority of serious, knowledgeable observers and political adversaries of Marchais—ranging from socialist leaders to anarchist fugitives from the PCF—reject this theory. They argue that Marchais, notably during the period of the Common Program, has opposed Moscow when it suited his purposes, and that his latest aberrations can be explained perfectly by domestic political calculations.

The questions about Marchais' past were first raised right after he became secretary general in 1970 by resistance leader Charles Tillon. Tillon asked publicly why Marchais, when he "decided to penetrate" the PCF in 1947 had "lied" in the biography he submitted to the party by saying he had spent the occupation in France. A few days later Tillon was expelled from the party. Tillon and other PCF resistance figures, notably Roger Garaudy, complained that the "Marchais group" was trying to blunt the PCF's criticism of the Soviet invasion and "normalization" of Czechoslovakia.

It was Marchais' predecessor, Waldeck Rochet, who set the PCF on the path of independence from Moscow; there is great discretion surrounding the illness that forced Waldeck Rochet to give up his leadership of the PCF, but it is said that the Soviet betrayal of the Prague Spring in 1968 left him a broken man. The old resistance generation bitterly resented seeing this tragedy serve to promote younger leaders who had missed out on the party's heroic period.

In 1970, the PCF explained that Marchais had been forcibly deported to work in Germany. But in 1973, a former member of the PCF secretariat, August Lecœur, published documents that he said proved that Marchais had volunteered to work in Germany. Marchais brought suit against Lecœur and against two leftist weeklies that picked up the accusations. The case took five years to muddle through the courts before being thrown out in July 1978 for lack of evidence.

In the course of these proceedings, the nation at the Sept. 29, 1977, hearing got an unusual view of George Marchais with tears in his eyes, as he swore under oath that he had never volunteered to work in Germany, that he was deported and had no business besides. Marchais recounted that in February 1943, two

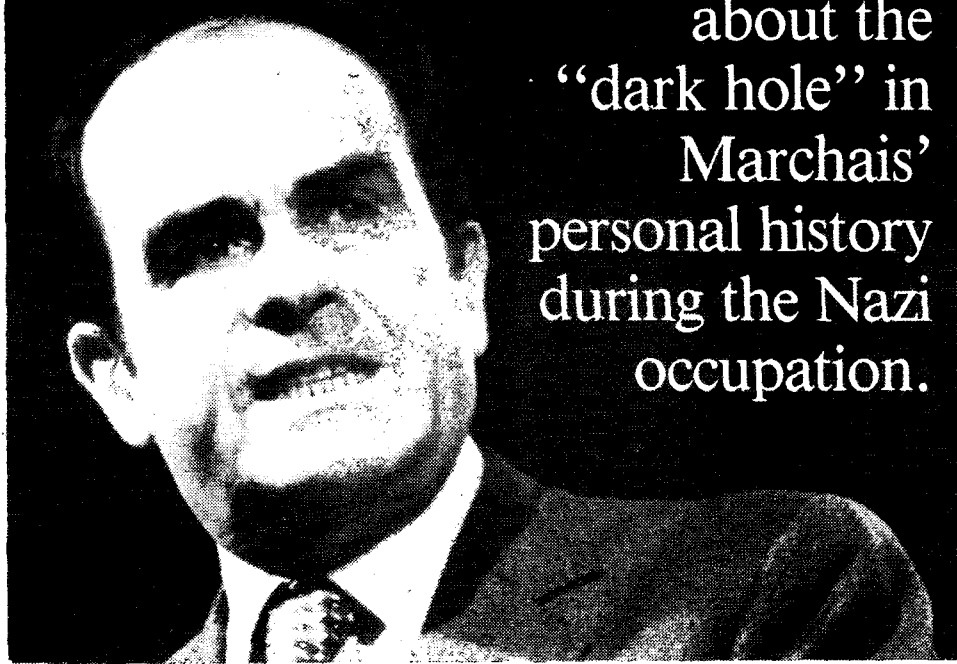
months after his arrival in Augsburg, he tried to run away but was caught. Then in May of the same year, he used a letter from his wife announcing the death of his niece to convince the Germans that his own daughter had died and thus get a three-day pass to France for the funeral. Back in Paris in May 1943, he got a doctor to write him a medical excuse, and when that ruse could not be kept up, he "went to the countryside."

embarrass Marchais, who is doing a yeoman's job of setting the president up for a landslide re-election next year. Marchais is successfully undermining socialist prospects by destroying the credibility of left unity, while his own popularity has been steadily dropping.

Revel's motives.

It seems unlikely that anti-communist Revel would want to do the PCF, or the

As the French Communist Party leader prepares to run for president next year, old questions have resurfaced about the "dark hole" in Marchais' personal history during the Nazi occupation.



FRANCE

Marchais' past is once again an issue

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

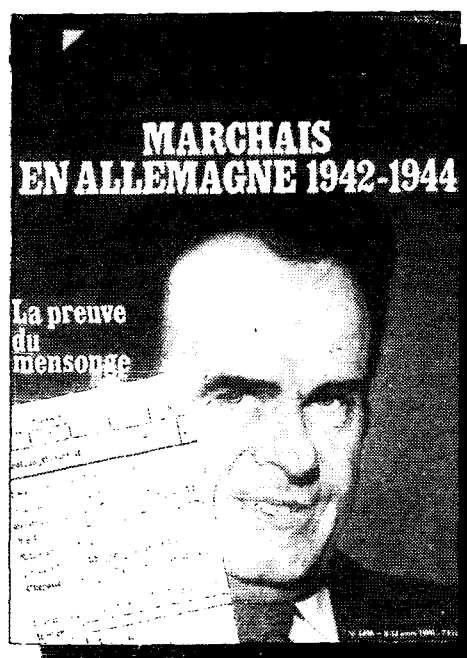
This is the story that Jean Francois Revel claimed to "disprove" by reproducing in *l'Express* a document from the Augsburg archives. The document is a file card on George Marchais at the bottom of which two dates have been marked and then crossed out in pencil: 10 May 1943, and 10 May 1944. This, announced Revel, was proof that Marchais was still in Augsburg in May 1944, a full year after he claimed he had returned to France.

But French journalists who descended on Augsburg found consternation among the curators over the unwonted scandal that had blown up from their dusty files. Augsburg officials said it was quite impossible to say for sure what was meant by the two dates; for instance, they might be dates when Marchais was summoned to some office, but there was no proof that he showed up.

Meanwhile, in a radio interview with Revel and a thicket of journalists, the PCF secretary general kept the aplomb that has helped make him France's top media star; he agreed to accept an investigation of his past on three conditions: (1) public examination of the lives of all current political leaders during the 1939-1945 period; (2) parliamentary investigation of everybody who covered up or benefited from the "horrible crimes" of Bokassa; and (3) publication of the income and property of all public figures, starting with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

This sent rounds of chortles across the zinc bars of France's cafes. Such proposals seemed guaranteed to assure a total lack of curiosity in government circles as to Marchais' past.

It is generally taken for granted that Giscard in any case would not want to



left, a favor by getting rid of Marchais. Jean Francois Revel is an odd duck on the French political scene. American magazines turn to him for "French" comment because he tries hard to see things from what he takes to be an American viewpoint. It was Revel's ecstatic celebration of American political virginity entitled *Neither Marx Nor Jesus* that apparently first inspired Jean Pierre Chevenement to coin the term *la gauche americaine* to designate a certain fuzzy-headed opportunism invading the French left. Revel may have hoped that his hatchet job on Marchais would get him back in the good graces of Francois Mitterrand, who has refused to comment—or perhaps he just meant to combine public service with increased newsstand sales.

l'Express has always been identified with efforts to Americanize France, at

least in the sense of using American media and political techniques. These techniques failed to assure the political fortunes of *l'Express* founder, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. The magazine was taken over a couple of years ago by English press collector Jimmy Goldsmith, who also heads the General Occidental agri-food business multinational, linked to Giscardian and American interests.

But there is no real proof that Marchais stayed on working in the Messerschmitt factory, much less any evidence to back up the implicit insinuation that he is trying to hide a collaborationist past. However, the *Express* story has aroused a wave of curiosity about the four-year gap in George Marchais' biography between 1943 and 1947.

The woman who was married to him at the time, Paulette Noetinger, has written to *l'Humanite* confirming that when, after the May 1943 return from Germany, the doctor no longer felt he could go on providing fake medical certificates to keep Marchais from being sent back to Germany, the couple left Paris with their baby daughter for his native village, La Hoguette, where they stayed with relatives.

A neighbor says George Marchais was indeed in the village in 1943. "He was hiding in his mother's, there's no doubt of it. He wore dark glasses." The woman was village mail carrier at the time and recalls that George, unlike his mother, wanted to have the newspaper delivered. Other neighbors recall seeing him hitch-hike back and forth to Paris, but aren't sure when.

Marchais' official political history begins on May 4, 1947, when he joined the PCF—the very day Communist cabinet ministers were driven out of the French coalition government. The Cold War was declared and that year, the PCF lost some 300,000 of its approximately 800,000 members, along with its respectability and prospects for sharing power. But it picked up 100,000 new members—fresh troops ready for what looked like no-holds-barred class war, and perhaps even hot war between East and West. The year 1947 was a "tough guy" vintage for the PCF.

In the postwar period, Maurice Thorez, who had spent the war in Moscow, used hardheaded recruits like Marchais to help him wrest full control back from the resistance leaders who, left on their own in France, had begun to entertain romantic dreams of revolution. There was a natural temperamental clash between those who had risked their lives to fight the Nazi occupation and those 800,000 French workers who, while not exactly collaborators, had obeyed orders to go work in German factories. Like Algerian workers in France today, the French workers in Nazi Germany generally lived in dormitories but were free to go out and to send their paychecks home to their families. After the war, the PCF helped these people gain an official war-victim status as labor deportees. But they were not allowed to join the PCF until 1947. Thus Marchais could not have joined the party until he did. Thorez took such an interest in advancing Marchais' career that some people suspect that Marchais may even have been employed by the party before May 1947 for small services. This would account for both the gap in Marchais' biography and the confidence he enjoyed as Thorez' protegee.

The backbone of the PCF is its apparatus of permanent militants, who are carefully screened. It seems unlikely that Marchais has kept any major secret from the inner circle all these years, though some people cite the old Stalinist (and not just Stalinist) principle that upright people should be shoved aside as uncontrollable in favor of individuals with something to hide.

One thing is clear: if George Marchais has something to hide, it is a poor man's secret, not a rich man's scandal. He has never looked like a saint or an idealist, and much of the French working class gets a kick out of his faintly "bad boy" image. The attacks on his troubled youth may only strengthen the class identification he plays on so well and help rally workers to the defense of the PCF's "besieged fortress."





**PHOTOGRAPHS
BY MEL ROSENTHAL**



There was a time when the South Bronx did not conjure up images of devastation and social collapse. Charlotte St., Bathgate Ave., Tiffany St., and Fox Street were not symbols of an urban crisis but were centers of alive, intact neighborhoods.

During the '40s and early '50s when I lived there, this part of the Bronx was a drab working class world made up of Jews, blacks, Irish, Italians and Puerto Ricans. There were crumbling tenements, depressing rooming houses, and there was poverty, adult criminals and teenage fighting gangs. For many people who lived there, it was a way station on the road to more middle class neighborhoods.

However, the neighborhoods did provide a variety of inexpensive and accidental pleasures. The streets bustled with life and were relatively safe. In fact, much of life took place outside the home. People strolled, hung out on the corners and stoops, played in school yards and the many parks, and spent time shopping.

The reality of that Bronx of the '40s and '50s is rarely invoked. Its small human pleasures have been nostalgically transformed by magazine and newspaper journalists into an urban idyll. We are now told that it was a time when poverty didn't break a person's spirit but could be endured and then transcended. The grey parochial streets and rust-brown apartment buildings are now seen through an eternally warm, communal glow. Sentimentalized memories are now complacently being resurrected to condemn the South Bronx today.

Just as much of the complex texture of the South Bronx of the '40s and '50s has been lost to nostalgia, in a similar way, the reality of today's South Bronx has been submerged. The South Bronx has been viewed as a scene from Dresden after World War II, the apotheosis of urban disintegration and

poverty, a home for the feral and murderous young, a barbarous frontier, Fort Apache where the brave cowboys fight the bad Indians, and perhaps most noxiously, a code word for politicians to make their case against the poor and for liberals to demonstrate their rhetorical compassion.

The very massiveness and complexity of its problems provides a warning to all committed to real social change. Piecemeal changes are doomed to failure and radical changes are beyond contemplation, without confronting class realities. It is easier to deal with the South Bronx as a metaphor.

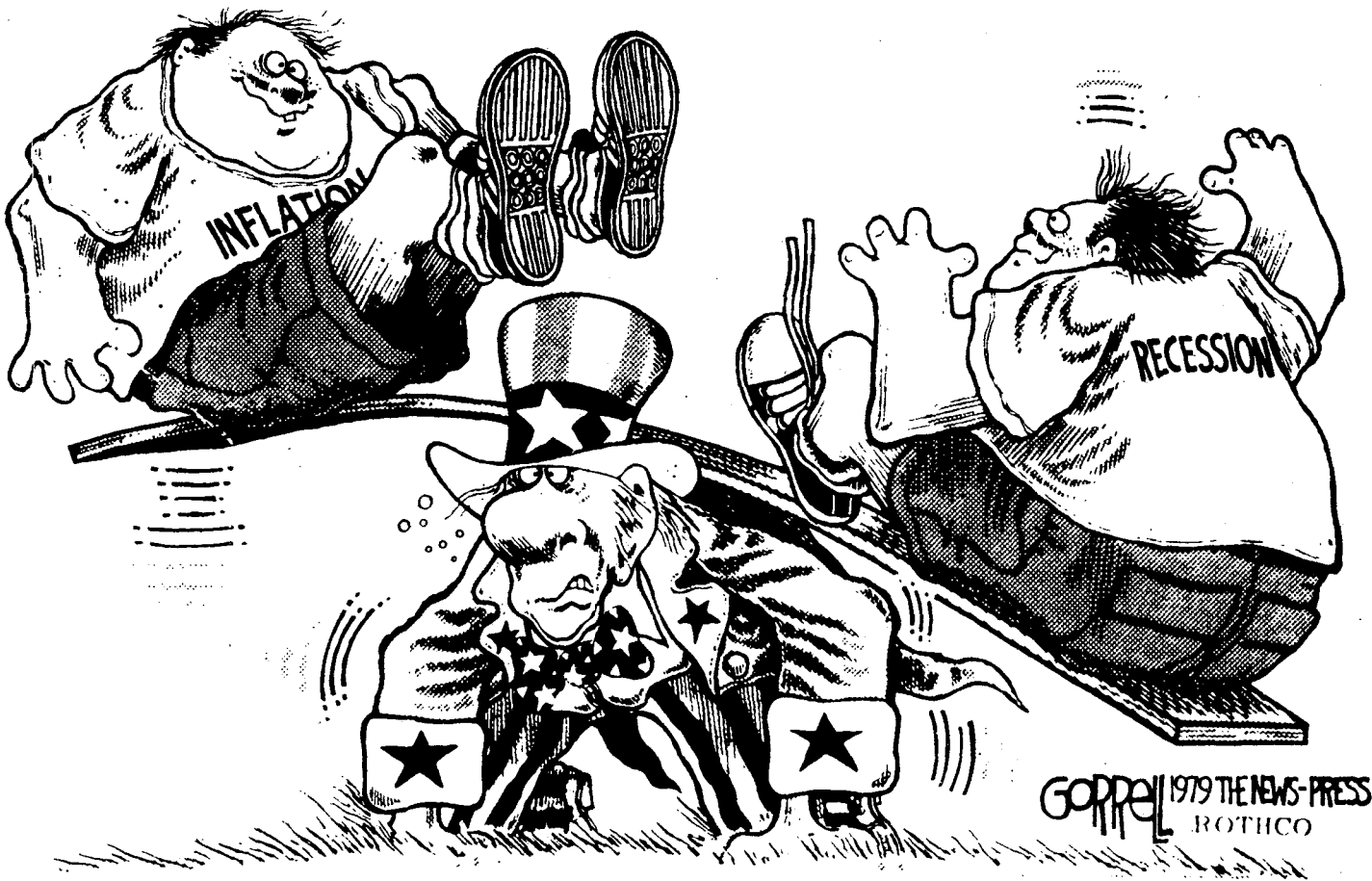
As anywhere else, there are many realities and levels in the South Bronx. There is a reality that emerges from grim statistics on the numbers of people on welfare, reading levels in schools, number of serious crimes, numbers of fires, square blocks of uninhabited buildings, and numbers of people suffering from hypertension and other stress-related illnesses.

There are many people suffering and some are causing even more suffering. Victims victimizing other victims is not uncommon. Some of the poor in the South Bronx have, no doubt, become muggers, arsonists, hustlers, burglars and even executioners. There are others so fragmented, drunk and addicted that they lack sufficient energy and aggression to do more than turn their anger inward and destroy themselves.

But there are countless others shaped by the same environment who have the spirit to wrest a sense of possibility from the bleakness. Occasionally one hears of the most successful or inspired of them. We hear of people renovating buildings, growing catfish, putting up solar panels and growing vegetables in community gardens. Mostly, we don't see these people.

Leonard Quart is an English professor and cultural editor of Marxist Perspectives.

EDITORIAL



A try to boost confidence by inducing a new recession

Jimmy Carter has revived the old time economic religion that demands faith in balanced budgets and planned recession as the cure for inflation. The primary purposes of the "anti-inflation" program he unveiled on March 14 are to stabilize the credit markets and shore up corporate confidence in government fiscal and monetary restraint.

The president's program will not end inflation as most Americans understand it. Indeed, Carter's policies impose higher energy and housing costs on consumers while restricting increases in wages. And the rate of increase in the price of most other goods and services will be left to the conscience of our leading corporate executives.

With this program, Carter has notified corporate manager and ideologues that he is willing to restore their confidence in the price system by enforcing a drastic reduction in American standards of living. He is born once again. He has announced his faith in recession as the only possible means of economic stabilization.

Since the Chrysler bailout last year the managers and ideologues of the corporate political economy have suspected that the Carter administration was not willing to pay the political price of economic stabilization. That price, of course, is electoral disaffection as government spending is cut, recession sets in, and unemployment rises.

Carter's first proposed budget for 1981, which projected a \$16 billion federal deficit, only confirmed corporate leaders' suspicions. Once convinced that Carter was not about to enforce a recession deep enough to cut consumer spending through greater unemployment, corporate managers and investors integrated double digit inflation into their economic planning and product pricing for 1980.

The immediate result was the collapse of the bond market. It collapsed because long-term notes at fixed interest rates are not very attractive investments with inflation at 15-20 percent annually. Values in the stock and bond markets fell almost \$300 billion in the six weeks following the publication of Carter's first proposed budget.

But at the same time corporate borrow-

ing increased because market analysts could reasonably predict an inflation rate even greater than the 16-17 percent prime rate induced by the Federal Reserve's newfound monetary discipline. Meanwhile, consumers were borrowing and spending as fast as the corporations because they, too, understood that inflation would soon make their earnings worth less.

For consumers, money spent has produced greater benefits than money saved because interest rates on savings have been less than half the rate of inflation. But a declining rate of saving has meant more demand on the economy, less institutional money available for investment in the credit markets, and less money available for investment in plants and equipment as against consumer durables. Moreover, the consumer borrowing and spending has forestalled the recession corporate ideologues define as the condition of price stabilization.

In February, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers, one of Wall Street's more influential economists, initiated a full-scale assault on Carter's fiscal and monetary policies. Since then the corporate business community has relentlessly harangued the administration, the Congress and the American public about the need to balance the budget and to reduce the growth of the money supply.

Carter's response.

Carter responded to this campaign of education with intensified prayer and a revised budget. His new program calls for \$2 billion in cuts from the 1980 budget and \$13 billion from the 1981 budget. He hasn't yet specified where the budget will be cut, but because defense spending is more or less inviolate after Afghanistan, cuts will be concentrated in social services and revenue sharing, the "soft underbelly" of the budget. If the federal budget is balanced this way the public can expect severe reductions in state and municipal services and a reduction in inflation of about .5 percent.

Carter's new plan also imposes a tariff on imported oil, a 3 percent surcharge on the discount rate for large commercial banks that borrow frequently from

the Federal Reserve, a (voluntary) ceiling on the expansion of bank loans, restrictions on the expansion of consumer credit and new guidelines on wage increases.

The tariff on imported oil will be passed along to consumers, and will probably raise inflation .75 percent. This is in keeping with recent American tradition. Energy costs to consumers rose 41.6 percent in 1979.

Consumers can also expect to pay more for credit, if they can get it at all. A bank or department store that wants to expand its unsecured loans to consumers must deposit 15¢ of every dollar increase in credit with the Federal Reserve Board. "Like other taxes," explains the *Wall Street Journal*, this new charge "will be passed along to customers." So the cost of buying a home, which last year rose about 30 percent, will increase once again. And the cost of consumer durables will increase as the new charge is incorporated into revised retail price schedules and higher credit card interest rates.

Meanwhile, wage increases in 1980 are to be held to an average of 8.5 percent. Since this is rather less than the expected inflation rate for 1980, Carter's clucking about "pain," "sacrifice," and "discipline" seems to apply only to those who depend on wages or salaries, not property, for income.

Profits untouched.

Corporate planners have already given notice that they will not allow inflation to affect their profits—one indication of their resolve is that producer prices rose at an annual rate of 23 percent in January. Large corporations that decide this year to borrow from large banks at a prime rate of 20 percent will protect their profits by passing their greater costs on to their customers, as the *Wall Street Journal* predicts.

Public debate.

Congress will be considering the President's and its own proposals for the next five to six months. If the discussion is to involve the American public, and embrace questions and future possibilities

that are ignored in Carter's program, socialists must enter the debate.

The central question before us is not government spending as such. Government spending to place demand on unused productive capacity, increase employment, and enlarge national income is necessary in mature industrial societies because goods production requires an ever smaller proportion of manufacturing capacity and the labor force. So the question is not whether government should spend, but how it should spend.

Should government spend to create more elaborate means of destroying the planet, or should it spend to provide citizens directly with the jobs and services they need—with the material and cultural means to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

A related question is how government should raise the money it spends. Should it rely exclusively on a progressive income tax, or should it also borrow in credit markets and grant tax deductions for certain kinds of wealth and income? The government has recently come to rely on individual as against corporate income tax receipts. It has also increased its borrowing in credit markets, and granted ever larger tax deductions on income-producing property. Most federal revenues now have a regressive source.

Public revenues and spending could be enlarged and the federal budget could be balanced by reversing this trend—by relying on a progressive income tax for most, if not all, of the federal government's receipts.

Such questions and possibilities are ignored in arguments that simply connect government spending and inflation. Those arguments also ignore the preponderant role of large corporations' market power in determining prices and causing inflation. If socialists are to help shape the discussion that Carter has initiated with his new "anti-inflation" program, this issue must be addressed at the outset.

The best way to raise these questions is to design a socialist program that attacks inflation directly. That program would have to begin where prices have risen most rapidly—in energy, housing and transportation. In energy, for example, a socialist program would include immediate price controls. The proposed tariff on imported oil can be collected, but it should not be passed along to consumers. Instead, let it be deducted from oil corporations' profits, and devoted, along with a portion of the new windfall profits tax, to a federal energy corporation under the control of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee. Such a corporation would be charged with the obligation to negotiate directly with OPEC nations, and to discover, develop, and market ecologically sound sources of energy in the U.S.

In housing, a socialist program would again include immediate price and rent controls. Beyond that, it would have to allow for the transfer of federal revenues from military purposes to support the construction and rehabilitation of public housing and to guarantee the availability of low cost financing for private housing.

In transportation, a socialist program would seek to supply energy-saving alternatives to the motor vehicle. It would mandate the use of state and federal highway trust funds for construction of passenger rail systems in and around urban areas, and thus would ease the public's forced dependence on automobiles and costly petroleum products.

Here we can only touch on the minimum requirements of a comprehensive socialist program to fight inflation. Once armed with such a program, socialists can welcome the impending debate on government spending, inflation, and balanced budgets as an opportunity to make corporate power the central issue of politics in the 1980s. ■

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

SECTARIAN?

THE ATTACHMENT OF THE COMMENT "The Really Radical Communists" to our letter (ITT, Feb. 13) overlooks the thrust of our criticism of Jones. We wanted to point out an example of the structural racism that West Worlders, even those on the left, have difficulty avoiding. Jones didn't do his research better because of his leftist American assumption that India isn't worth studying seriously.

And ITT's concentration on Europe and the U.S. doesn't help alleviate this ethnocentrism. The comment also reflects a phobia of communists not alien to these pages. Socialists who reject communists for being sectarian are themselves being sectarian. And a united left in the U.S. requires an end to sectarianism from the center as much as from the ultra-left. Finally, the comment reflects a contempt which damages rather than promotes the kind of unity required at this moment in history. When Brezezinski gets his show on the road in the Middle East, we may not have the leisure of the peace which now allows us the luxury of such high-handedness.

—Michael Ryan
Ithaca, N.Y.

—Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak
Austin, Texas

Editor's Note: First, Mervyn Jones is British, not American. He has visited India often and has written about it frequently over the years. Second, sectarianism is a narrow-minded attachment to a sect or school of thought; it does not consist of accepting or rejecting other specific points of view, only of rejecting out of hand all other points of view. Third, Ryan and Spivak's original letter struck us as sectarian by strongly implying that the only true Communists were in the West Bengal Maoist party.

CHEATED (BUT NOT BY PAT)

PAT AUFDERHEIDE'S REVIEW OF *Kramer vs. Kramer* is among the finest reviews of any popular film I've seen in quite some time. I have no significant caveat with it. However, I'd like to add to her remarks my own dissatisfaction with the film and others, both movies and TV shows, that treat such personal-social problems as child custody, alcoholism, unemployment and delinquency, and marital discord. Although I and the other divorced fathers, both of them custodial parents, with whom and our children I saw *Kramer vs. Kramer* were technically allowed to vote by episodes of the film that reflected our own experiences, we felt cheated. The film presents politicians rather than sections begun and carried through. Having met and dealt with similar situations, we realized that we did not become a good and responsible parent without considerable effort and mutual adjustment with our children. Hoffman and Hoffman don't realize that effort, that adjustment. With such oversight as the two women toast-making scenes that Aufderheide scores the film short-changes the process of the parent-child relationship.

Perhaps it is too much to ask, but it would at least be nice if filmmakers were more modest than Benton, deciding to treat a little less than he tries to in his film but treating what they do

with a regard to process, to development. Either that, or adopt a style less demanding of detail than ordinary cinematic realism. Or write a script that is as concentrated and internally reinforcing as that of, say, *Northern Lights*, in which we learn far from everything about the protagonists but enough to understand and appreciate the emotional currents and developments of their lives.

Anent the ten best lists and replies, Pat's right, they're fun. I can't think of 10 fiction films of the '70s I'd recommend, but I can manage eight. Besides *Northern Lights*, the beautifully crafted *Manhattan* and the ultimate Hollywood film, *Pink Flamingos*, were the best U.S. movies. The other five are Satyajit Ray's *Distant Thunder* on rural India during the Burmese campaign of World War II, Jan Troel's *The Emigrants* on 19th century Swedish migration to America, Don Schebib's *Goin' Down the Road* about two hapless young men from Canada's Maritimes, Ron Peck's *Nighthawks* about a British gay teacher's ordinary life, and the best of them all, Jacques Tati's *Traffic*, the great comedian's very wry celebration (?) of the automobile.

—Ray Olson
St. Paul, Minn.

NDP

ERIC LEE'S ACCOUNT OF THE CANADIAN elections (ITT, Feb. 13) contains a most serious omission. In his discussion of the foreign policy issue Lee correctly reports that New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Ed Broadbent joined the Liberal and Progressive Conservative party leaders in strongly endorsing the "cold war" turn of U.S. President Carter. But he tells his readers nothing of the reaction of NDP candidates and campaign workers to this posture.

Shortly after Broadbent made his first statement in support of the "Carter doctrine," NDP foreign affairs critic Pauline Jewitt, a British Columbian member of the NDP parliamentary caucus, challenged Broadbent's position. She noted that this view must be seen merely as his personal opinion, for it was clearly in contradiction with NDP policy, which calls for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, nuclear disarmament, and an independent Canadian foreign policy.

It is unusual for a party critic to question a leader's judgement at any time, much less in the midst of an election campaign. What made this particular challenge even more remarkable was the fact that Jewitt is well known as a leading representative of the NDP right; in the past she even briefly sat in Parliament as a member of the governing Liberal Party.

Criticism of Broadbent's foreign policy posture was not limited to Jewitt. When he made a Toronto campaign appearance during the height of the foreign policy debate, he declared that Canada should join in any American intervention in the Persian Gulf area. In response, a prominent NDP Toronto alderman and representative to the metropolitan Labour Council retorted, "If you want to invade, you will have to do it alone" and left the meeting.

The most important indication of widespread dissatisfaction with Broadbent's position came in the form of a large advertisement placed in Canada's

"national newspaper," *The Globe and Mail*. The ad condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the continuing suppression of political freedom in Eastern bloc nations, and the "cold war" policies of Carter and three Canadian national party leaders. Over 300 Torontonians signed the ad, including two NDP election candidates, several NDP party officials, a host of municipal NDP office-holders, distinguished Canadian intellectuals such as C.B. Macpherson and Christian Bay, and well known personalities such as Canadian athletes Abby Hoffman and Bruce Kidd. (Additional NDP election candidates supported the ad with funds, but did not wish to sign it in the course of an election campaign.) As an NDP campaign worker in the central Toronto riding of Spadina, I recognized a large number of signatories as fellow workers.

—Leo Casey
Toronto

BLUES

THANK YOU FOR YOUR EXCELLENT article on the blues (ITT, Feb. 20). I attended a blues concert here in Indy on Feb. 10 featuring blues veterans Bobby Bland, Etta James and B.B. King. Two things about it were especially interesting. First, the emcee announced that the concert was being sponsored as a part of Black History Month. Second, there were two performances by the Soul Peoples' Repertory Company, a local black theater group. The first was a recitation about blues and the black experience; the second was an act from a play by Langston Hughes. This was the first time I had ever seen explicitly political comments made at a blues concert, or for that matter any concert, and they went over very well with the audience.

One small typo: "J.B. Hutton" is actually J.B. Hutto, the finest slide guitar player since the late Elmore James.

—George Fish
Indianapolis

CREDIT—AND CASH

YOU DESERVE A LOT OF CREDIT, AND increased support, for your special section, "Cold War Reheated" (ITT, Feb. 13). So here is another small check and a big thank you.

I particularly liked William Winpisinger's blunt condemnation of President Carter's turnabout on SALT II

and arms spending because the news media is fond of saying that union members are mainly concerned about their own jobs. Yet, with many of his members working under union contracts with arms makers, Winpisinger takes a principled position against the unconscionable orgy of arms spending by our moralistic president.

I was expelled from the International Association of Machinists by the International Convention in 1950 for my opposition to the Korean War. This would not have happened if brother Winpisinger had then been International President of our union.

—Sam Krieger
Rohnert Park, Calif.

ABSCAM

IF MARX AND ENGELS WERE ALIVE today, they would be amused by ABS-CAM (ITT, Feb. 20) and perhaps a little puzzled by the reaction of someone like Mark Green to it.

Green's legalistic defense, however, his hairsplitting between what's a bribe and what's a contribution, and his admission that all members lacking great wealth have to raise money this way does merit cynicism. People are saying "they all do it."

To condemn the public for this is misplaced moralism. As Ferdinand Lundberg wrote, the scandals that the public hears about are just an occasional lifting of the curtain upon continual corruption that is inherent in the system.

There are many individual members of Congress who are not corrupt, of course, but what about the key members of Congress who chair important committees and can naturally frustrate the efforts of the honest ones?

Green's declaration that people get the kind of representation they deserve, citing how seven of 11 members found engaged in illegal conduct were re-elected, is another instance of moralizing.

The fledgling Citizens Party has looked at the legislative attempts to solve the problems of corporate criminality and has found that it is largely a case of slamming the barn door after the horse is gone.

Perhaps the best long-range solution is to offer alternative candidates a new political party that can be certified clean. The way to do this would be for a party like the Citizens Party to publish its own and its candidates financial records.

—Steve Wexler
Williamson, Conn.

CALENDAR

March 28-29

Symposium: We Shall Not Be Moved: the historical roots of agrarian protest; Ames, Iowa. Speakers include Fred Stover, H.L. Mitchell, Al Krebs, Helen and Scott Nearing, Donald Grubbs. Information: Agrarian Protest, 2828 Oakland, Ames, Iowa 50050.

March 28-29

Three Mile Island—One Year Later. Examine the dangers of nuclear power with films, speakers, workshops, music and more. Meet activists and experts. Lincoln Park Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill. For more information: (312) 472-2492, 764-5011 or 786-9041. Citizens Against Nuclear Power.

March 30

Harry Boyle speaking on "The Citizen Action Movement in the '80s," will kick off NAM's Second City Socialist School's spring session, featuring courses on political economy; Freud, feminism and socialism; Spanish; and housing organizing. Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 Seminary, Chicago, at 7:30. \$2.00 admission. For information call (312) 871-7700.

March 30

The American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia presents **Meg Christian** at 4:00 p.m. at T.C. Williams High School, 3330 King Street, Alexandria, Va. Pro-

ceeds will be used to assist the ACLU's support of women's rights, juvenile rights and gay rights. An \$8.00 donation is requested. For further information contact: ACLU, Box 1276, Alexandria, Va. 22313.

April 4-5

Cities in Crisis; Urban Alternatives. URPE Midwest Regional Conference, at IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan, Indianapolis. Panels, films, slides, workshops. Fiscal crisis, "revitalization," socialist city, urban organizing. Keynote: Baldemar Velazquez (FLOC), "Organizing the Unorganized." Write: Conference, c/o Pol. Sci. Dept., IUPUI; tel.: (317) 264-7387.

April 18-20

The New School for Democratic Management will conduct courses in business, financial and democratic organizational skills at the Loudon Nelson Community Center in Santa Cruz. Courses include: financial management, democratic management and community economic development strategies. Fees are \$80.00 for one course and \$140.00 for two courses per student. Contact: Otter Enterprises, P.O. Box 2294, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, (408) 462-1344.

April 25-27

13th Annual Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference, Portland, Oregon. Special guests: David Brody, Victor Reuther. For information contact: PNLHA, P.O. Box 25048, Northgate Station, Seattle, WA 98125.

BLASE BONPANE

Beware the wrath of the formerly docile

GUATEMALA HAS AN INDIAN MAJORITY. THIS RICH CULTURE has graced the highlands for tens of thousands of years. In many ways the Indians may be considered the most conservative force in Guatemala. As a missionary priest, I marveled at their patience. I could not understand why they would work at all under such foul conditions. They seemed to lack any concept of outrage. I was exiled from Guatemala in 1967 because the university students with whom I worked were moderately successful in communicating organizing skills to these Indian communities.

I returned to Guatemala this year. A qualitative change had taken place. The Indians are conscious. Upon leaving Guatemala this time I was convinced that the Indian majority of Guatemala is in an irreversible process of integration with the Central American revolution.

It is not a crime to kill Indians in Guatemala. Indian farm workers are routinely kidnapped, forced into military service, robbed of their land and murdered. The Army, Mobile Military Police and the Treasury Guard have had free reign in carrying out the wishes of large land owners. But recently farmworkers have organized into the Committee of Farmworker Unity (CUC). Bulletins of this new organization stress the need for self-defense. The new militancy is obvious. Here are a few recent examples:

•Over 100 Indians from San Miguel

Uspantan made a pilgrimage to Guatemala City objecting to the military occupation of their village and demanding release of nine of their tribe kidnapped by the army. Their march took them to the National Congress where they insisted on a hearing.

•Similar reports have come from such villages as Obero in Escuintla where villagers chased the National Police out of town after the police killed an epileptic. In Comalapa farm workers surrounded and disarmed Treasury Guards in the act of arresting Indians without cause.

•In Jacaltenango, in the Department of Huehuetenango, farm workers forced the abusive Mobile Military Police to leave the village. A similar report came from San Martin Jilotepeque where Indians resisted unwarranted arrest attempts by the National Police. On the south coast of Guatemala migratory workers are demanding higher pay to-

gether with better working conditions. The CUC demands \$3.00 per ton of cane harvested.

The Indians are not alone. The Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR), a new umbrella group of Guatemalans opposed to the government, was established in admiring imitation of the Broad Front (FAO) that unified the Nicaraguan opposition. FDCR has denounced former members of Somoza's National Guard who are now mercenaries in Guatemala. Apparently the Lucas government does not understand that the Nicaraguan guardsmen are using tactics in Guatemala that enraged the Nicaraguan citizenry and fostered the opposition leading to rebel victory.

•Eighty members of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor took over the town of San Juan Ixcay in Huehuetenango. The majority of the population took part in a three-hour discussion with the rebels. The local jail was destroyed and the prisoners freed.

•The town of San Miguel Ixtahuacan in Solola was taken by the newly formed Organization of People in Arms. (ORPA). Six hundred farm workers participated in the dialogue that followed. In each case the Indian population is greeted and addressed by Indian guerrillas who speak the local dialect. This was also obvious in the peaceful takeover of San Cristobal Cucho in San Marcos. The Indian population was responsive and communicative as they heard the rebels speak in their native Mam language.

•Then there is the presence of Indians in the urban sector. The Spanish embassy in Guatemala City is a striking example. On Jan. 31 at 3:00 p.m., the Guatemalan National Police instigated a massacre in which 39 people burned to death. Most of the deceased were Indians from the province of Quiche. These people had peacefully occupied the Spanish embassy in desperation after trying for two weeks to get a hearing from the Guatemalan government. They came to the capital to object to the kidnapping and killing of members of their families dur-

ing the last several months. (Eyewitness reports of the killings were published in *Noticias de Guatemala*.)

The Indians arrived at the Spanish embassy about 11:00 a.m. The ambassador, Maximo Cajal y Lopez, was not disturbed by the presence of the Indians and told them that his was an open embassy. About 400 National Police arrived and surrounded the embassy of Spain. With loud-speaker in hand, Cajal y Lopez told the police *not* to enter and reminded them that the embassy was Spanish territory. He further stated that he had not called the police and he gave the microphone to the former vice-president of Guatemala who supported the ambassador's statements with references to international law.

At 1:30 p.m. the police occupied the roof and balconies of the embassy. At 2:10 p.m., according to the national daily, *La Nacion*, the police commanders went to a patrol car and received instructions from "higher authorities." At 2:15 p.m., the sky-light was smashed over the second story room containing the Indians. The occupants offered to leave in pairs; provided that the security forces leave first. The ambassador again reminded the police that he had not called them. The Red Cross made an unsuccessful attempt to mediate. Some news correspondents managed to get upstairs in a mediation effort but they were thrown out by the police. As the journalists were going down the stairs they heard the door being broken down, shots and an explosion. The Spanish ambassador ran out saying of the police, "They're brutes! They're beasts!" The Indians inside the second story room were screaming, "They're killing us! Assassins!" Cajal y Lopez was held by the police for about ten minutes and was released after the intervention of a U.S. embassy official.

Guatemalan television showed the police doing nothing as the people outside the embassy shouted, "They're burning up! Let them out!" "Break down the door." The Indians were allowed to burn alive.

At this moment, the Congress of the U.S. is considering a renewal of military and economic aid to Guatemala. Amnesty International has identified Guatemala as one of the worst places on earth for its absence of human rights. Recent events have supported the AI statements.

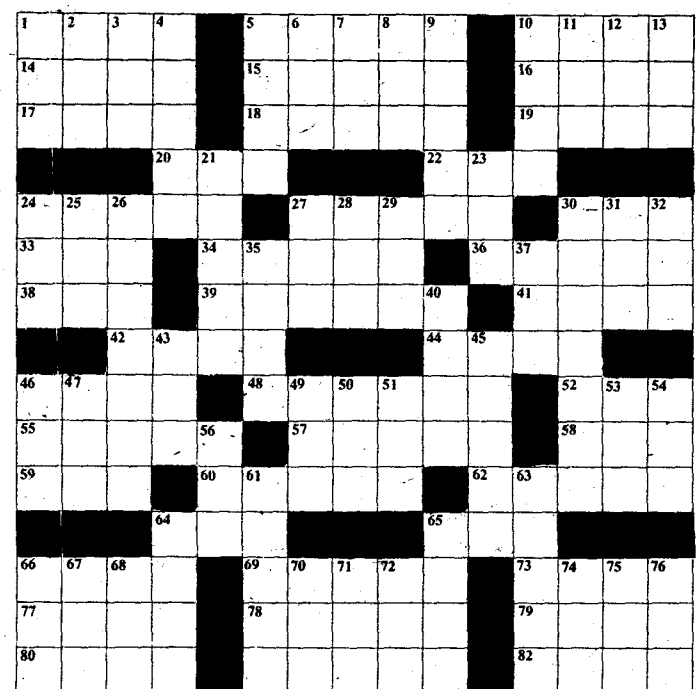
Many observers believed that Israel would repent after its disgrace as an ally of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. But this has not been the case. Israel advisers are assisting the Guatemalan military. They are winning no friends among the Guatemalan people. It is common knowledge that the Calil rifle is the standard weapon of the Guatemalan army.

The liberation of the Indian majority of Guatemala should not be considered a threat to the interests of the U.S. By refusing to assist the corrupt Guatemalan government the U.S. will have more money for its domestic needs; and if it cannot help, it should cease to hinder the cause of justice in Guatemala.

Blase Bonpane is a Central American specialist and sociology professor at California State University, Northridge. He has recently returned from Guatemala.

I'm Working for the Union

by David Mermelstein



ACROSS

- 1 Organizer, with 49 Down, preceded by 1 Down
- 5 Once radical leader of TWU
- 10 Steel union head
- 14 Dies
- 15 Loosen, as a shoe
- 16 Fish
- 17 Foolish
- 18 Marriage walkway
- 19 Precedes "who goes there?"
- 20 Demure
- 22 Followed HST
- 24 Hearty enjoyment
- 27 Choreographer
- 30 Automatic advance
- 33 Residue
- 34 Light play
- 36 Past UE leader
- 38 Red or Black
- 39 UAW head
- 41 Small object
- 42 Athletic org.
- 44 Thug
- 46 Pacific island
- 48 UMW chief

- 52 Affiliation of Lincoln and Ford
- 55 Religious art work
- 57 Courted
- 58 Alfonso's queen
- 59 Airport abbreviation
- 60 UMW leader and CIO organizer
- 62 Auto; symbol of failure
- 64 Taste
- 65 Pitcher's stat.
- 66 Sponsor of "slave labor act"
- 69 Grab
- 73 ARU head; led Pullman strike
- 77 Fencing implement
- 78 One who has
- 79 Cart
- 80 "___ in the heart of Texas"
- 81 Crusty old conservative plumber
- 82 Urges

DOWN

- 1 See 1 Across
- 2 Terrorist org.
- 3 Opposite of lead
- 4 Part of LCD

- 5 Pier
- 6 Prefix for cycle
- 7 Possessive
- 8 Abner
- 9 Eng. city
- 10 Tennis star
- 11 Snake
- 12 Room extension
- 13 Allow
- 21 Murdered Teamster

MELTDOWN

By David Mermelstein



23 Last of twelve:

- 24 Natural or tank
- 25 Employ
- 26 UFT bigwig
- 27 Catholic brother
- 28 Mil. sch.
- 29 Observe
- 30 Leftwing long-shoremen leader
- 31 However
- 32 "An ___ for an..."
- 35 Biblical name of Syria
- 37 Precedes amas, amat
- 40 Korean dictator
- 43 That, in Paris
- 45 Law's companion
- 46 New Deal initials
- 47 Tune
- 49 Union of yesterday
- 50 King, in Cannes
- 51 ___ Alamos
- 53 ___ night stand
- 54 Buddy
- 56 Clay, once
- 61 ___ salts
- 63 Child's father
- 64 Prefix for mother or child
- 65 Weird
- 66 Sorenson or Kennedy
- 67 Mimic
- 68 Charge
- 70 Female sheep
- 71 ___ rush (hurried)
- 72 Buddhist sect
- 74 Before
- 75 Prohibit
- 76 Method: Abbr.

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IN DEPTH

Mass transit money is still going to highways

By Joe Kolman

DURING THE PAST TWO MONTHS, WHILE THE CHICAGO news media have been preoccupied with strikes by transit workers, teachers and firemen, an anonymous group of transportation officials, working away from the glare of publicity, have been putting the final touches on Chicago's most important transportation decision in a decade. ¶At issue is how a \$2 billion windfall in federal transportation funds will be spent. The story has attracted little attention—and less informed criticism—but the decisions being made will change the face of the city for years to come. A close look at Chicago's dilemma may also help define the obstacles public transportation will face in other cities in the '80s.

The \$2 billion became available to Chicago following the cancellation of the nation's largest urban highway project—the long-debated Crosstown Expressway. Throughout the '70s, neighborhood activists and environmentalists fought to stop construction of the eight-lane superhighway that would have cut a quarter-mile scar through the city's south and west sides.

The Crosstown is now officially dead, but questionable changes in financing for public transportation were made in the wake of the cancellation, and officials have just unveiled their newest designs for the \$2 billion in federal funds. It has recently become apparent that while environmentalists and community activists may have won the battle to stop the Crosstown, they have lost the larger war to influence more important long-range transportation issues.

Throughout the country, delay construction costs may have doomed the massive urban highway projects of the '60s, but highway interests continue to grab the largest share of the transportation dollar. Even while the country faces serious gas shortages and transit systems groan under the weight of millions of new commuters, Chicago's experience has made it clear that the public will have to fight for mass transit subsidies if these systems are to stay alive.

When Mayor Byrne announced she was cancelling the Crosstown last spring, many independent transportation planners hoped the \$2 billion would be diverted away from other highway projects that encourage urban disinvestment and suburban sprawl. The planners pointed out that when Boston recently cancelled a billion-dollar expressway, it decided to put all of the funds into public transportation. In Chicago, some optimists hoped that the \$2 billion would be used to rebuild the rapidly deteriorating Chicago Transit Authority and extend transit service to handle the crowds the '80s would bring. At the very least, they looked forward to public discussion of long-term transportation needs that would determine the best ways to spend the \$2 billion windfall, whose magnitude had never been seen before and would never be seen again.

No such luck.

But soon after the announcement of the Crosstown's cancellation, Mayor Byrne and Republican Governor James Thompson emerged from private sessions and unveiled a joint "transportation package." The plan immediately drew fire from both independents and anti-Byrne machine Democrats who called it, among other things, "the gang rape of the city by the downtown road interests."

Under the terms of the agreement, half

of Chicago's \$2 billion in federal transportation funds were given to the governor for undisclosed transportation projects for the suburbs. In addition to this unprecedented giveaway, Chicago gave up a mass-transit subsidy that had been collected from a portion of the state-wide sales tax, and funds from a 5-cent-a-gallon gas tax collected throughout the six-country metropolitan region. To make up for the lost sources of revenue, Chicago was granted the dubious privilege of levying an additional one-cent sales tax on itself, and raising its transit fares an average of 20 percent.

One effect of the Byrne-Thompson transportation package—passed quickly after arm-twisting on both sides of the aisle—was to shift the public transportation tax burden from wealthy suburbanites to the inner-city poor, who are hit hardest by regressive sales taxes and who already pay among the highest transit fares in the country.

Critics also pointed out that the legislation allowed the state to give up its obligation to subsidize mass transit in Chicago, while it continued to subsidize highways throughout the state. What's more, by taking the 5-cent-a-gallon tax off gasoline and hiking transit fares, critics argued that the legislation provided an incentive for auto use and a disincentive for public transportation use in the midst of an energy crisis.

Such considerations were ignored as transportation officials rushed back to their drafting tables to develop substitute projects for the \$2 billion. The decisions on just what projects to fund were hammered out during November and December by an extra-legal committee of transit insiders and local officials.

According to the plans released last month, the city proposes to spend the largest part of its money on relatively low-cost nuts and bolts items, such as subway surveillance systems, commuter bridge repairs, and traffic intersection improvements for arterial streets. Larger blocks of funds have been allocated to rehabilitate the Loop elevated structure and to build new rapid transit line extensions: one to serve the transit-starved southwest side; the other to connect Latino Pilsen with downtown and the fashionable Michigan Avenue shopping district.

But some planners think that by spending the largest part of the money on what they consider routine maintenance items, the city is passing up the unique opportunity to build major expansions of the rapid-transit system. Others have charged that the mayor's proposal is an ill-conceived grab-bag of ideas, developed by a small group of insiders that is being pushed through quickly to prevent opposition.

While Mayor Byrne may have displayed questionable judgement in planning for the billion-dollar project, Chicago has finally moved away from commitment to new highway construction.

Continued on page 18.



A \$2 billion federal windfall could fund major improvements in Chicago area mass transit, but the highway lobbyists are frittering it away.

French citizens' actions win major transit improvements

By Chester Hartman

ALTHOUGH THERE IS LITTLE citizen activism around transit and transportation issues in the U.S., the story is quite different in France. In Paris, a city with one of the world's greatest underground systems and a city whose extraordinary livability is severely threatened by the automobile, citizens have played a far more active role in ensuring decent public transportation.

In 1970 and 1971, the government sought to increase transit fares dramatically and move toward a "pay as you go" policy (that is, withdraw its heavy subsidies for the public transit system). But demonstrations of 25,000-100,000 persons forced major concessions from the government, still reeling and skittish from the events of May 1968. While some of the fare increases were implemented, the government backed away from its no-subsidies goal and postponed several planned fare rises. More important, popular pressure forced the government to institute several major reforms:

- A payroll tax on employers (with ten or more employees) located in the Paris region pegged to operating and capital subsidies for the region's transit system.

- Introduction of the "carte orange," a monthly unlimited ride pass for use on any bus, metro or suburban train line. (Unfortunately, it still is a zoned fare system, requiring those who live farthest away—generally the poor—to pay the most, in money as well as time, for the journey to work.)

- Expansion and improvement of the suburban train system.

- Vast improvement of the bus system, which had been sorely neglected in the '60s.

Key to this mobilization of popular discontent were the major left political parties, the Socialists and the Communists, and the trade union confederations with which they are loosely affiliated, the CGT and CFDT. Joining with four other left parties and union confederations, they formed the "cartel" that organized massive demonstrations at railroad and metro stations, sent delegations to government ministries, and otherwise raised hell. Somewhat surprisingly, the media supported these demands, recognizing the dangers of deteriorating transit conditions had brought about.

Another important legacy of the

1970-71 demonstrations was the creation of a range of transit users' organizations in Paris and throughout France. These are not tied to left parties and trade unions, but have been influenced and infused by the concerns and tactics of the ecology movement. The *Federation des Usagers des Transports* (Paris) is active in electoral politics, running (in coalition with related environmental groups) candidates at all levels to push their concerns about the role of the automobile, the need for a more balanced and rational approach to moving goods and people and overall livability of cities.

Combat-Transport is a group with similar concerns and activities, but focuses more on community organizing than electoral strategies. The *Federation nationale des Associations des Usagers des Transports* recently held, in Tours, the fourth national convention of transit users' groups. FNAUT's membership consists of 72 local associations and five national associations, the latter dealing with rights of the handicapped, pedestrians', bikers, and motorcyclists' rights, and highway safety. They push for the notion of a right to accessible, low cost (eventually free) frequent and comfortable public transit; rails over roads for movement of goods outside urbanized areas; de-emphasis of automobiles' rights (to park on sidewalks, pollute city air, take up so much space, kill and maim pedestrians, bully two-wheeled vehicles); special public transit streets and lanes; pedestrian only zones (common in most major European cities but sadly lacking in Paris), and other reforms.

The U.S. has nothing resembling this kind of political mobilization in support of public transportation, not even in those few cities where there still is a good and relatively inexpensive public transit system to save. Transit users—whose use of the system is of short duration—may be inherently harder to organize than people in their community or workplace situations. But neighborhood and workplace organizing should begin to encompass this all-important adjunct to community and work life; and users of a given system, station or line represent a natural organizing bloc as well. If we're to get (or in some cases, keep) decent public transportation in the U.S., it will only come about around the kind of organizing and mobilization that have occurred in France.

Chester Hartman is a city planner, now teaching at the University of North Carolina.

Illinois

Continued from page 3.

ways of reshuffling the political deck. Both George Bush and John Anderson had hoped to be the realistic, thinking Republican's alternative to wild and woolly Ronald Reagan. But Bush's only selling point was that he could win. When he began losing, his support dwindled quickly.

Anderson, on the other hand, has been more aggressive in promoting his "new coalition" and actively appealing for support of independents and Democratic cross-overs. This led his opponents to lash out at Anderson as disloyal and not a real Republican. These attacks seemed to have blunted Anderson's surge in the polls and may have brought out conservatives determined to defeat him and his Democratic party supporters.

Nearly one-fourth of Chicago voters in the Republican primary were normally registered as Democrats, according to an ABC poll, and Anderson won two-to-one among them. Anderson got 44 percent of his support from independents, 15 percent from Democrats and only 36 percent from Republicans, whereas Reagan de-

pended on Republicans, who favored him by a two-to-one margin over Anderson.

Anderson's "new coalition" brought in thousands of enthusiastic college students, recruited through Doonesbury cartoons to a "Clean Gene" image of "thoughtful" reformism. It also included a substantial middle-class and professional vote from both regular Republicans and independents.

Anderson has few states where he can benefit in the primaries from the mix of voters who rallied to his cause in Illinois. Although money has been flowing in much faster, his organization is weak. (He won't even be campaigning in New York.) With gut Republicans, especially the conservatives who are strong in coming votes in the West and the South, so set against him, Anderson seems a long shot. But Reagan is running up against campaign limits on spending. Reagan is also prone to blunders and exaggerations that make him look incompetent. He periodically tilts right-wing windmills, such as suggesting in Florida that anti-Castro Cuban terrorists are being harassed unfairly by the federal government. Under close press scrutiny, Reagan could still stumble and John Anderson might pick up some pieces.

The Reagan appeal.

In his own right, Reagan also represents an effort at political realignment. His core of support is among older, conservative Republicans from small and rural areas. (He lost to Anderson by a margin

of 57 percent to 32 percent in Chicago and 46 to 40 in suburban Cook County, but won heavily in the rest of the state, for example.) But Reagan also has strong blue-collar support. Southwestern working class suburbs of Chicago went for Reagan, but northern, wealthy suburbs favored Anderson. Within Chicago, it appears that most of George Wallace's 1976 vote stayed Democratic and went to Carter, but in some outlying areas there was an indication that Reagan was picking up some Wallace supporters.

Reagan backers want a "strong" foreign policy and believe that the federal government is so wasteful that massive anti-inflation tax cuts could easily be accommodated while increasing military spending. Reagan's simple prescriptions, blunt talk and claims of miracle-working as governor of California stimulate an enthusiasm on the campaign trail that only Anderson can match, and then only on college campuses.

Bill Carpenter, 28, a state highway worker, came to hear Reagan at the Will County fairgrounds. He backs Reagan, he says, because "he's more or less for the people. He's tired of seeing all this bureaucracy and red tape. He's for cutting back—and putting in lots of things for the people."

Carpenter disagreed with Reagan on abortion and the ERA but thought that was unimportant compared to issues of inflation, taxes and the economy. "I'm tired of getting screwed and not getting kissed," he said. He thinks Reagan will bring tax relief and "get everything sort

of stabilized, putting everything on an even keel." He also notes, "If I was a Democrat, I'd vote for Kennedy."

Frustrated with a persistent economic malaise, confused that the old solutions don't seem to work, distrustful of politicians generally, a great chunk of the electorate has lost its political moorings and is shifting about in search of some solution. They may have a "conservative" idea about government spending, a "liberal" view on women's rights and a "left" view on corporate power—or some other confusing combination. The pieces of the political mosaic have not yet been reassembled in a new pattern. Although the potential for some realignment clearly exists, it seems unlikely to occur this election. More likely, people will grudgingly agree to muddling through with Jimmy Carter rather than risking disaster with Ronald Reagan.

Yet Carter's hold on foreign policy and the economy is slipping, and as the campaign rolls on, there are signs that Ted Kennedy's character may be a bit less of an issue if he can hold out.

John Anderson—even George Bush—could gain if Reagan makes a fool of himself, although Jerry Ford's decision not to enter the race, after drop-out John Connally's behind-the-scenes work on behalf of Reagan, indicates that the Republicans may be growing resigned to Ronnie.

For many voters, the decision at any stage will seem like a hunt, as one Reagan supporter said, "for the best choice of a bunch of mediocrities."

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

CITIZENS ENERGY PROJECT
1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

THE CITIZENS PARTY-NATIONAL OFFICE
525 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

THE CITIZENS PARTY OF ILLINOIS
743 N. Wabash Ave.
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 280-8623

COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

COIN-CONSUMERS OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN THE NECESSITIES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Room 617

MIDWEST ACADEMY
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NATIONAL CENTER FOR ECOOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.
Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

Transit

Continued from page 17.

About 70 percent of the city's portion of the \$2 billion pie will go to public transportation.

State planners, however, have different priorities for their half of the \$2 billion. According to their proposal, less than 10 percent will be spent on suburban public transportation needs. The lion's share of the billion will be distributed among hundreds of minor road improvements scattered throughout the region, and \$250 million will be spent on three questionable new highway projects through sparsely populated areas of suburban Chicago.

Planners and environmentalists have often criticized new highway construction because it encourages urban sprawl and dependency on automobiles, and have questioned the wisdom of improving the suburban highway system in the midst of gas shortages. But most recently they have been armed with a more persuasive argument: the state's own figures show that it is drastically short of the funds to keep the present road system in an adequate state of repair, much less build new highways. Long-range planners have even warned that by the year

2000 Illinois will be forced to abandon some state highways because it will be unable to maintain them.

In spite of these dire predictions, state highway planners have not given up their plans for an expanded suburban highway system.

In the eyes of independent critics, the most serious danger is that the funds received from the federal government expressly for major capital improvement projects will be squandered by both the city and the state. "The distinct impression we get is that it appears that [the \$2 billion] is going to be frittered away for the most part on a little road here, a little something there," said State Senator Dawn Clark Netsch. "If they're really serious that this is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, then it's just insane not to have an overall sense of what it is we must do in the metropolitan area."

Inevitably, the most rational long-range transportation planning is susceptible to the impulsive political whims of a mayor or a governor. And now that massive urban highway projects may no longer be feasible, more politicians like Governor Thompson may attempt to divert funds previously earmarked for city projects for their own uses. By transferring a billion dollars of Chicago's highway funds to make repairs and improvements to the suburban highway system, Thompson was able to fund a new down-

state road program.

Despite the far-reaching effects of the alternative projects and the changes in public transportation financing, the transportation package has raised slight opposition. Soon after the substitute projects were unveiled, Doug Kelm, the regional representative for the U.S. Secretary of Transportation questioned the wisdom of dividing the \$2 billion equally between city and suburbs, and suggested that some of the \$600 million the state allocated to suburban road improvements might be better spent on major city expansion projects. The League of Women Voters has moved to slow down the decision-making process. But little other public reaction has been heard.

Transportation is a highly technical field, and the cause of public transportation suffers from a dearth of knowledgeable public interest groups that present alternatives in areas like housing or education. As a result, officials who make decisions in an increasingly important area of public policy are able to hide behind a wall of technocratic verbiage.

While campaigns of the previous decades may have roused community interest in stopping highways, the new challenges to progressives appears to be rallying support for public transportation. The complicated issues all turn on the matter of which forms of transportation will receive public subsidies.

CIA

Continued from page 8.

The CIA has tried to argue that the proposed changes in the FOIA are modest ones. Deputy CIA director Frank Carlucci claims that the new law would provide, "a limited exemption to protect our most sensitive information," and that "the loss to the public from the removal of these files from the FOIA process would be minimal."

But many items that have surfaced as a result of the FOIA would still have been buried in the agencies' files if the proposed legislation had been in effect. For example, in its final report, the investigating committee headed by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) said that Project Resistance, which ended in 1973, was a secret CIA program that compiled a nationwide index of 16,000 names. But records made public under the FOIA later showed that the CIA's Office of Security indexed some 50,000 names in California alone.

Another case in point is the CIA's secret mind control program known as MKULTRA. The CIA told the Church

committee that the records for MKULTRA were destroyed in 1973. But some 16,000 pages of records on MKULTRA and other CIA drug experiments were uncovered and released to John Marks, a former State Department official, under the Freedom of Information Act. Moreover, in 1977 Stansfield Turner testified that mind control experiments had been virtually phased out in the mid-1960s. But again, according to Marks, the CIA replaced MKULTRA with another behavior modification program that continued into the 1970s.

Public trust.

In essence, the new laws mean that the CIA, despite its nefarious record, wants Congress and the public simply to trust it. Defenders of the agency argue that a key element in the "decline of American power" has been the emasculation of the CIA. Intelligence failures such as in Iran have been cited as examples.

But in fact, disclosures by key officials who resigned the agency in frustration suggest that the failures have been primarily failures of political analysis. John Stockwell, who was chief of the CIA's Angola task force during the unsuccessful covert action there, wrote a book, *In Search of Enemies*, revealing

that a no-win policy and general incompetence were responsible for the Angola fiasco.

More recently, the CIA desk officer for Iran, Jesse Leaf, resigned and went public. He has revealed that his reports warning of the Shah's fragility in the period just before the Iranian revolution were rejected by higher-ups, and that he was told to rewrite them. He also said he knew of SAVAK torture, but was instructed by his superiors not to report on it.

Intelligence analysts surmise that the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean area will be a key area for future CIA operations. Many real and potential U.S. allies in these areas are far from stable politically (for example, Egypt, Sudan, Turkey, Pakistan) and fears of unrest in vital nations such as Saudi Arabia may well escalate clandestine diplomacy.

Even though the CIA and the Carter administration have demonstrated their ability to sidestep the disclosure laws, repealing the modest restraints that now exist on CIA activity would allow them even greater discretion. It is a sign of the times that the rationale of "national security" should enjoy a revival, along with all the other rhetoric of a Cold War mentality.

»SPORTSCENE«

PRO BASKETBALL

Women's rocky second year

By Vicki O'Hara

SAVING TWO SEASONS IS A major accomplishment for any new sports league: a venture that requires a large investment with little guarantee of return in the near future. The fact that the Women's Basketball League (WBL) is preparing for its annual playoff tournament must say something to critics who warned that the public was just not ready for women's pro basketball. Billie Jean King, for instance, was warned not to waste her time on the tennis circuit because no one cared enough about women's tennis to put out that kind of money.

Still, the WBL is not without problems, as a comparison of the roster of teams at the beginning of this season with the current roster makes clear. Two teams no longer exist, a third is questionable and managers, coaches and owners have been substituted freely, to say the least.

Four teams have undergone a change in ownership, and three teams have changed coaches—one of them three times. Actually, the operating situation was a little more stable this year than last when the Milwaukee Does went through five coaches, the Minnesota Fillies and Iowa Cornets three apiece and the New York Stars and Dayton Rockettes two.

The WBL heralded the 1979-80 season as proof of the league's marketability and durability. Seven new franchises were announced, making a total of 14 teams after the Houston Rockettes fell by the wayside, and the league was expanded from two divisions to three—eastern, midwest and western. That, despite the fact that the franchise fee was doubled from \$50,000 to \$100,000. The new franchises were the Washington Metros, Philadelphia Foxes, New Orleans Pride, Dallas Diamonds, St. Louis Streak, San Francisco Pioneers, and California Dreams. Investors in the Pioneers included big names in the entertainment business, actors Mike Connors and Alan Alda, indicating the league was catching on.

The second season also brought excellent new talent as the league held its first real draft. Among the stars was well-known guard Ann Meyers who was snapped up by the Dreams after a short-lived controversial career playing men's pro ball with the Indiana Pacers.

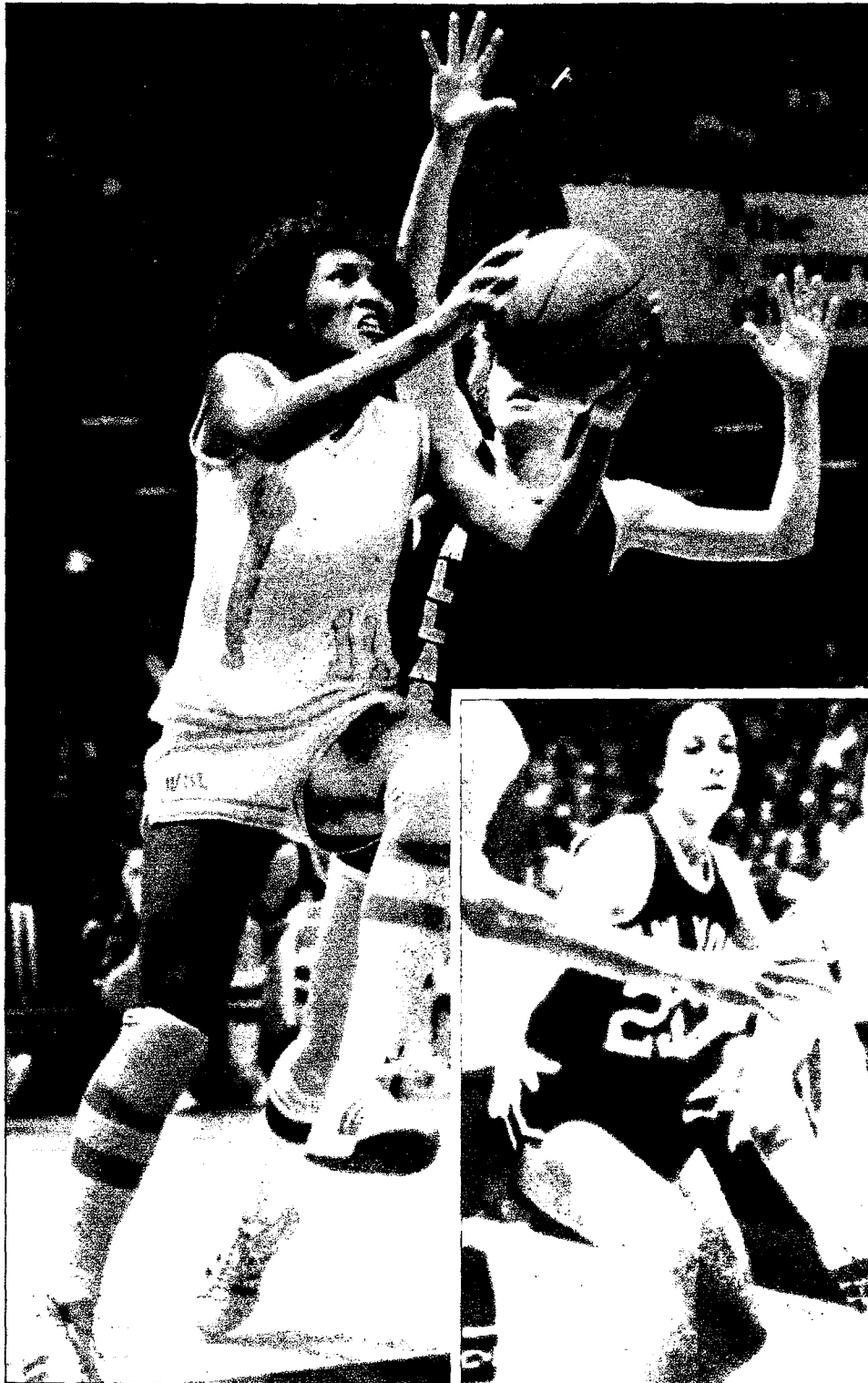
As another measure of confidence and success, the New York Stars moved its games into Madison Square Garden. The facility seats 20,000 people.

Financial problems.

All seemed to be well, despite the usual flurries over coaching and related problems, until it was announced on Dec. 21 that two expansion teams—Washington and Philadelphia—were folding. Dire financial problems were disclosed, including the fact that the Washington Metros players had not been paid regularly. League president Bill Byrne said the board of governors surveyed the situation, decided not to get involved in a hopeless mess, and put all the players on waivers. A total of 24 players were involved, according to Byrne, and "maybe 15" were picked up by other clubs.

But the problems didn't stop there. The Houston Angels, Dallas Diamonds, Milwaukee Does and even Iowa Cornets, one of the strongest teams, also were having money problems. At the beginning of the season, Byrne explained, "Everyone met the qualifications, but not everyone had the staying power."

There was talk of Dallas folding, but new investors were found. People with



money and the desire to spend it also stepped forward to rescue Milwaukee, Iowa and Houston, and the league board of governors recently approved the new ownerships. Now, Byrne insists, all the teams are strongly financed and their operations are solid.

But Larry Costello, former coach of the Milwaukee Does and a man well known in the NBA, is pessimistic. He said he quit the team Feb. 4 because he, the trainer and the bookkeeper weren't getting paid. In fact, he said, he hadn't been paid for seven weeks.

On the subject of the WBL, Costello at first insisted he had nothing to say, but then relented, describing conditions that hardly indicate a sound organization. "I didn't realize how bad it was until I got involved with it," he said. As he told it, there was no operating money whatsoever—no money to advertise, promote, recruit or do any of the other things needed to keep a team alive.

"We had only part-time people," he said. "We didn't even have a full-time secretary."

When the team traveled, Costello admitted it was by plane, but he added that he had no business charge card. He had to use his own and wait to be reimbursed.

The players weren't getting paid either, and that bothered Costello. Is he bitter? "Yes, I am," he replied, and that bitterness came through when he talked about his team. "Those girls deserve better," he said. "They work hard; they love to play; they just enjoy themselves. They were fun to coach." But manage-



Left, Anita Ortega of the San Francisco Pioneers, which started with the WBL this year; right, Rita Easterling of the two-year old Chicago Hustle.

ment, he adds, took that enjoyment away from them. "They didn't have money to pay rent, to buy food," he remembered.

Costello said those problems were not unique to the Does, that the whole league was badly managed. He cited the fact that the league office kept assuring him that new investors would be found, over and over, while he and his players continued to work for nothing.

Costello criticized clubs like New York and Milwaukee for trying to make it in huge arenas when they have neither the money to pay for them nor the fans to fill them. The Does, he said, played at Milwaukee Arena, which holds around 10,000 and cost the club \$3,000 per game. Average attendance, he said, was 1,000.

According to Costello, every team in the league is losing money.

To some extent that is true. Charles Shriver, who recently left as general manager of the Chicago Hustle to take a job with the Chicago White Sox, admitted

IN THESE TIMES MARCH 26-APRIL 1, 1980 19 that no one is making a profit yet. But Shriver, who has been involved in pro sports promotion for years and is generally credited with making the Hustle the best-publicized team in the league, pointed out that it often takes years to get a new club out of the red.

One of the Hustle owners, Sherwin Fischer, agreed. He said it seems many people invested in the league thinking they would get an immediate return on their money, but that's just not the way it works.

"I'm glad that there's been some washing out," Fischer commented. "I think a lot of people went in there thinking they were going to open doors and sell tickets."

Now that some of the problem teams have been reorganized and refinanced, Fischer said, "I think the people in it will do very, very well and the league will be a big success."

Indeed, the WBL does seem to be pressing forward enthusiastically toward next season. Byrne said the board of governors has approved plans for a Tampa franchise, but the details are still in the works.

It would seem the league might be wary of expansion, after losing several teams this year, but not so. Byrne, Shriver and Fischer all mentioned that the franchise fee had now been raised to half a million dollars...meaning anyone who buys in probably had the financial backing to stay in.

There are other positive signs as well. Byrne said he'd like to start the season in December instead of November next year, to avoid competition with football. Also, plans are underway for what he said will be a very important college

draft June 16. this year, he explained, a whole crop of major players, players who benefitted from the recent explosion in women's sports and resulting scholarships, will be graduating and eligible for the WBL. "The draft this year," Byrne promised, "will make the league."

More television coverage is a major goal for next year. Nine teams had television coverage of some kind this season, much of it cable, and Byrne has big plans to increase it. He's also investigating the possibility of running a game-of-the-week every Thursday during prime time.

The Chicago Hustle was the first team to get major television exposure and Byrne said that was a big factor in making the Hustle one of the bulwarks of the WBL. He believes they can do the same thing for the other clubs.

Despite the difficulties, Byrne remains confident. "People ask if we did this thing too early. My answer to that is 'No, we might have done it too late.'"

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

ROCK MUSIC

By Bruce Dancis

WIMMIN AIN'T GOT NO Kick was the title of an early 20th century feminist pamphlet by American socialist leader Kate Richards O'Hare, but it might also have described the relationship between women performers and rock music.

Until recently, few women in rock have been able to escape stereotyped roles such as what critic Robert Christgau once described as "the virgin, the sexpot and the sufferer." The same restrictiveness has also generally applied to the kind of rock women made—soft and mellow rockers predominated.

The women's movement and the New Wave has started to change all that. By the late '70s many women rockers were no longer willing to accept sexist limitations on their creativity, and the New Wave's return to basic rock'n'roll and "everyone a musician" ideology provided an exuberant and relatively democratic opening. (See Georgia Christgau's interview with four women in the New Wave, *ITT*, Dec. 6, 1978). Increasingly, women have been writing songs, playing instruments, and working on production in addition to their more established and accepted position as vocalists.

Linda Ronstadt, the most popular female vocalist of the 1970s, serves as a cultural barometer. After building her career on country rock, torchy ballads and covers of Buddy Holly, Everly Brothers, and Motown hits, Ronstadt began the '80s sporting a punky haircut and releasing a predominantly New Wave album—*Mad Love* (Elektra/Asylum Records)—that strikes me as the best work she's ever done.

Since she doesn't write her own songs, Ronstadt's musical direction hinges on the material she chooses to borrow. Three of the songs on *Mad Love* were written by Elvis Costello, three more by Mark Goldenberg, guitarist for an L.A. New Wave band called the Cretones. Ronstadt's voice, invariably strong, but not always triumphant over her song selections in the past, never sounded more exciting, and her excellent band complements her newfound power.

Still, Ronstadt's conversion is only partial. Her lyrical personae remains essentially suppliant and self-pitying, even on her wonderfully buoyant single, "How Do I Make You." But other women vocalists have broken through that barrier with a vengeance.

Faithful forever.

Nothing in Marianne Faithfull's career—with one exception—prepares a listener for her new album, *Broken English* (Island Records). The daughter of an Austrian baroness, Faithfull met the Rolling Stones as a 17-year-old convent school student, had a big hit in 1964 with Jagger/Richards' "As Tears Go By," and lived with Mick Jagger for about five years. Following an undistinguished singing and acting career, two sensationalized drug busts with Jagger and several suicide attempts, Faithfull was eventually hospitalized for heroin addiction.

It recently became known that



Above, Marianne Faithfull. Left, Linda Ronstadt. Right, Chrissie Hynde.

Beyond the virgin, the sexpot and sufferer

Linda Ronstadt, Marianne Faithfull, the Pretenders and the Raincoats all show women rockers' strengths.

Faithfull wrote the unforgettable lyrics to the Stones' "Sister Morphine." (Faithfull's contribution was not acknowledged on *Sticky Fingers*, though she has always received royalty payments.) "Sister Morphine's" brutal imagery and shattering honesty made *Broken English* less a shot in the dark than it would otherwise seem. Though the level of songwriting and musicianship runs quite high throughout, it is Faithfull's voice—quavering, almost breaking, yet extremely forceful—that leaves an unshakeable chill hours after one first hears it.

Her voice, fragile though it may be, has lost the innocence of her earlier recordings. In its place comes tremendous anger, harshness and emotional resiliency.

"Why D'Ya Do It" brings together sinister, pissed-off music that more than meets its match in Faithfull's intense wrath and

scatological bitterness. Reworking a poem by British playwright Heathcote Williams, Faithfull and the band tell a tale of sexual jealousy peerless in the depths and explicitness of its rage. All of her fears, possessiveness, resentment and spite pour out, egged on by a most menacing twin guitar intro, dangerous reggae rhythm guitar chops, a haunting organ drone and a strident guitar break.

Most of *Broken English* meets the standards set by "Why D'Ya Do It." The title cut, driven by an intriguing modified Eurodisco bass line, features lyrics inspired by Faithfull's reading of *Hitler's Children*, a book about West Germany's Baader-Meinhof Gang. It may not be a profound statement—neither is "Guilt," another fine cut—but Faithfull's voice seizes everything in its path.

There's a part toward the beginning of "The Wait" on the

Pretenders' self-title debut album (Sire Records) in which group leader/vocalist/guitarist/songwriter Chrissie Hynde listens to her band's opening power chords and rolling drum and bass line, coughs loudly, clears her throat, listens some more, and then proceeds to launch a truly devastating vocal.

Hynde's coughing and throat clearing as the band kicks into high gear helps prepare a listener for the coming onslaught. As "The Wait" hops along to a rapidly twitching beat, Hynde keeps up with a tremendous assortment of scats, screams, and simply superb singing.

Curt, tough, and nasty ("Stop snivelling, you're gonna make some plastic surgeon a rich man," she spits on "Tattooed Love Boys"), with a sneer that makes Tom Petty's look like a smile, Hynde possesses a tremendously forceful self-confidence. Her vocal beauty and vulner-

ability also gives her band a remarkable versatility. "Stop Your Sobbing," the group's first single, immediately follows "The Wait" and changes the mood completely. Hynde brings great tenderness—as well as an interesting role reversal—to this Ray Davies song, recorded initially by the Kinks in 1964. Similarly, her lovely vocal on "Kid," which includes Hynde singing double-tracked harmony with herself, reveals an affectionate dimension to her songwriting.

Although the Pretenders are a young band, formed in England late in 1978, the Akron-born Hynde has been performing since 1974. Her past work included a short stint in a Cleveland group featuring Devo's Mark Mothersbaugh, and backup singing for Johnny Thunders, Chris Spedding, and Mick Farren. The rest of the Pretenders—bassist Pete Farndon, guitarist James Honeyman Scott, and drummer Martin Chambers—are capable veterans of various British bands.

But this is Hynde's album.

Raindrops keep falling.

All the members of the Raincoats, a new British band, are women and they took part in virtually every phase in the making of their first album, *The Raincoats*, for Rough Trade Records, an adventurous and progressive independent label in Britain. The band members—violinist and guitarist Vicky Aspinall, bass player Gina Burch, vocalist Ana Da Silva, and recently departed drummer Palmolive—wrote most of the songs, co-produced the album, and played the instrumental parts.

Although the Raincoats don't consider their group to be a feminist band, and differ from other all-women groups such as Jam Today (for whom Aspinall once played) in their desire to perform for both men and women, a feminist consciousness can be seen in some of their songs. The harrowing "Off Duty Trip" was based on an actual case in which a British soldier committed a brutal rape and received only a light punishment from a judge who wanted to save the soldier's career. Part of it goes:

*Seaside town, off duty trip
Taking flesh, going to let it rip
With rings on his fingers,
Sharp like the taste that still lingers.*

*Join the professionals, save one of our professionals,
No, no jail for a professional!*

The overarching impression of *The Raincoats* is how original the band sounds. Burch's flowing bass frequently becomes the lead instrument, carrying the melody line as violin and guitar build chords and other textures beneath it. Similarly, their harmonies depart from convention. For instance, on "Black and White," someone sings a relatively clear melody, only to be joined by a jarring monotone functioning formally as a harmony part but actually serving to create dissonance.

Right now more women are rocking—and rocking harder—than at any time before.

■ *The Raincoats is available for \$7 plus \$1.25 postage from Systematic Record Dist., Berkeley Industrial Court, Space 1, 729 Heinz Ave., Berkeley, CA 94710.*

BOOKS

Breaking the silence about unemployment

NOT WORKING:

By Harry Maurer
Holt, Rinehart & Winston,
\$12.95

By Rachel Kranz

Harry Maurer's oral history collection, *Not Working*, gets unemployment out of the closet. Not working in America is seen as so completely personal a problem that, as Maurer's book shows, even men and women who lose jobs in massive layoffs or shutdowns see themselves as responsible.

"It's the wrong attitude to have, I guess, but sometimes you get to a point of wanting to give up. You know you can't give up. But when you can't do anything, you have a feeling of total worthlessness. You're just worthless," says Jim Hughes, a 34-year-old welder.

For the unemployed men and women in *Not Working*, there is no way not to take unemployment personally. Maurer has interviewed truck drivers and stockbrokers, secretaries, ad-work producers, union members, former professionals, Hispanics, Indians, blacks and people over 55.

Some have a political consciousness about an economy that

A woman fired from her job in publishing said, "It feels like rape—you're violated and helpless." And it's your fault.

locks them into the boom-bust cycle, some are born-again Christians, some are cynics, some feminists. But all report the same human damage, the same sense of responsibility for the condition that keeps them from feeding their families, facing their friends, taking an active part in the world around them.

"I was persuaded that I must be not only as bad as the company thought I was to fire me, but much worse than that. Probably the world's worst. Probably I didn't deserve to live," says Grace Keaton, fired almost without warning from her publishing job of 12 years. "[Being fired] doesn't simply take away your self-confidence. It destroys you. Utterly. It may be more like rape than death. Being brutalized, violated, and being helpless."

The analogy to rape is significant. In the early days of the

women's movement, rape was the hidden crime, the offense for which the victim was expected to shoulder the blame. If women did not follow the elaborate rules set down for their protection—don't go out alone, don't dress provocatively, don't let them know there's no man at home—they were considered at least partly responsible for what happened to them.

The stories in *Not Working* suggest the widespread acceptance of a similar set of rules popularly expected to keep the newspaper's figures of 6 percent, 7 percent, 8 percent unemployment from ever applying to you. "You start going over your life: I did this wrong; I did that wrong. I knew that advertising wasn't secure, but when you're young, you don't listen to people. Now I think they were right," says Dorothy Feiberman. "Why didn't I listen?"

Feiberman was in her 40s when she decided to resign from her company rather than transfer to another state. Unsuccessful at finding another job, she muses, "I go through this business about whether I should dye my hair. That's a big thing I think about. If I dyed my hair, maybe I'd look younger. I asked some of the people (at an unemployed executives self-help club) what they think. They said it would only harden my face and the employer's going to find out how old I am anyway. But then it occurs to me, maybe I should get my face lifted. If I could get my face lifted, then I'd dye my hair because then the whole thing would look right."

Feiberman talks eloquently of her belief in herself. "I'm capable of handling problems it would take a younger person years to know how to handle." She compares her awareness of age discrimination to how she imagines black people must feel when they walk into an employer's office and see his face tighten. Yet the only way she can cling to her hope of someday being employed again is to look for the way that she can accommodate.

"Sometimes I think it's all my fault. I should have opened my mouth at such-and-such a time. I should have taken such-and-such a job when I had the chance. I shouldn't have listened to that teacher when he told me to aim high," says Eddie Vargas, a 24-year-old machinist.

Vargas is in the population category most susceptible to unemployment in America—minority youth. The current rate of that group's unemployment approaches 40 percent. Whether or not Vargas is aware of that statistic, he knows that several times he turned down a \$3 an hour job because of the teacher

who told him to "aim high." What he prays for is never to make the same mistake again.

"It'd be easy for me to start taking all the rejections personally, especially if I'm feeling low," says Julie Jacobsen. "I get real naive, and I think, 'By golly, I'm going to put more energy into it and really go out and attack the job market.' And then when I still don't find anything, I put the fault on me."

Jacobsen was fired from a high school counselling job because she is bisexual. She responded to the firing with a widely publicized lawsuit and a subsequent 150 applications to local schools. "You have no way of knowing whether the employers are aware of the case—which they very well could be—or if they just call to check on references from your former employer and hear about the non-renewal," says Jacobsen. She is aware of widespread homophobia, of the extent to which the power of employers can deny her a chance to work. But somehow, in moments of depression, her knowledge, her experience, become invisible even to herself.

"I went to Alcoa in Vancouver at about 5:30 in the morning for an interview at 8:00," says Ken Dutton, a black man in his 20s living in Seattle. "When I got there, there were already 20 people and it just so happens they take 20 applications a day... Came back the following Monday because they do it once a week...that time at 3:30 in the morning. There's 20 people there. O.K., the next week I went back again...at 2:10 in the morning..." Finally Dutton arranged to camp out at the plant the night before. The result? An application, an interview and a physical—but no job.

Julie Jacobsen's 150 applications, Dorothy Feiberman and her three painstakingly rewritten resumes, Grace Keaton and her endless round of phone calls to the contacts accrued during 12 years in publishing—the stories mount, and the reader becomes aware of her own efforts

to neutralize the painful facts. Surely this person was simply unskilled, that one simply unlucky. *Not Working* raises one's awareness of this disbelief at the same time that its stories contradict it, simply by the force of their sheer number and honesty.

Maurer himself confesses to a change of attitude during the course of compiling the book. In his well-written, helpful introduction he admits, "I wanted to measure the human damage, but from the point of view of people's success or failure to cope with it. Why do some families splinter under the strain while others pull together? The questions linger, but as I moved from town to town, interview to interview, my growing outrage told me the approach was faulty. By picturing unemployment as a sort of contest in which individuals succeed or fail, I had adopted the characteristic American tendency to blame the victim."

What surfaces most clearly in *Not Working* is how much the "victims" want to work, how much they are willing to pay in mental anguish and physical pain for the "privilege" of a paying job. Maurer adds a note of hope by including two additional sections at the end of the book, one on people who fought back against unfair firings and one on those who lost their jobs in a union struggle. He shows that people will fight back if given a chance, that despair and self-blame can exist side by side with collective action and a new self-image.

Studs Terkel's *Working*, to which Maurer's title pays tribute, was a major breakthrough in creating a vocabulary for talking about the experience of work. *Working* made accessible the stories of people rendered invisible by both newspaper statistics and popular culture. *Not Working* makes a similar breakthrough in revealing to us our experience of being unemployed. Rachel Kranz is a Boston writer and producer of a videotape on women and welfare.



Chilean singing group to tour U.S. and Canada

The Chilean folk group Inti-Illimani begins its U.S.-Canadian tour of the program "A Celebration of Pablo Neruda" on March 30. The group, one of the leaders in the New Chilean Song movement of the late '60s and early '70s, worked during the Popular Unity government in factories, schools, plazas and working class neighborhoods. During the 1973 coup the group was on tour in Italy, where Inti-Illimani has remained based. The tour schedule is still incomplete; in most cities of the tour, committees for a free Chile sponsor the event.

March 30 Los Angeles-Pasadena (Pasadena Civic Auditorium)
April 3 San Francisco/Berkeley (Zellerbach Auditorium)
April 4 Eugene, Ore. (So. Eugene H.S. Auditorium)
April 7 Albuquerque (King Auditorium)
April 9 Denver/Boulder (Glen Miller Ballroom, University of Colorado, Boulder)
April 11 Minneapolis (Willey Hall, University of Minnesota)
April 13 Austin, Texas (Rogg Auditorium, University of Texas)
April 15 Madison, Wisc. (Congregational Church)
April 20 Chicago (Medinah Temple)
April 25 New York City (Beacon Auditorium)
April 26 Boston (John Hancock Hall)
April 29 Hanover, N.H. (Wartmouth College)
Arrangements by Associated Projects, (213)827-9883, 11880 Juniette St., Culver City, CA 90230.

BOOKS

Jews and Palestinians, all women

By Peggy Dennis

RAQUELA: A Woman of Israel
By Ruth Gruber
Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, \$10.95, \$2.50 paper

NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM
By Avital Shchranzky
William Morrow, \$7.95, \$1.95 paper

MY HOME, MY PRISON
By Raymonda Hava Tawil
Holt, Rinehart & Winston

THE MATRUSHKA DOLL
By Barbara Fischman-Traub
Richard Marek, \$12.50

The binding cement among these two autobiographies, one biography, and one novel is the fact that one of these women is a post-Holocaust Jew in Europe, one is a Jew living in Israel, another is a Soviet Jew who achieves emigration, and one is a politically active Palestinian feminist.

Unlike most other books on the Holocaust, *Matrushka Doll* deals with the adjustments and lack of adjustment of young Lisa and her various friends when they return in 1945 from concentration camps to their hometown in former Transylvania, newly liberated by the Soviet Red Army.

The novel shows how each character reacts differently to the new reality. It shows the trauma of the small group of survivors who realize their victory is the fact that they're alive, the only ones of the original 12,000 Jews in the town. Many of their former gentile neighbors resent their return, while a few gentiles try to expiate their guilt by seeking the acceptance of the young Jews. The survivors find their homes confiscated and personal possession integrated into the holdings of the gentiles. Both gentile and returned Jew are caught in the wheeling and dealing affairs of the Soviet occupation command, the newly formed Romanian Communist Party, the non-party Democratic Front Bloc.

The love theme between the Jewish Soviet captain and the survivor Lisa is, like the rest of the book, more symbolic than deeply plotted. The title derives from the gift the captain gives his love—the classic Russian peasant wooden doll that divides itself again and again to reveal inside each one another identical, smaller doll, then another and another. As the captain notes, it is like the systems within the systems that control their lives.

They are thwarted in their attempt to escape together. The Soviet captain is absorbed back into his Party commitment and Lisa leaves her hometown, a year after her return, to seek "the blue skies of our homeland," Israel. The book ends here, the author does not confront Lisa or the reader with the systems-within-systems that awaits her there.

Meanwhile, in that homeland the real person Raquela lived under

the restraints of British Mandate rule over Palestine, hopefully awaiting the day of Israel's independence by UN mandate. She was deeply involved in the fate of crews and refugee passengers from Europe as boat after boat tried to break through the British blockade to bring the survivors to Israeli shores. As a hospital nurse she served in the over-crowded British camps on Cypress where those who had failed were interned once again behind barbed wire, she served too in Israeli hospitals caring for the Jewish victims of the 1948 fighting between Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians.

Raquela's biography, a grim reminder of what awaited the Lisas as the end of their journey and a reminder too of the passion and determination that motivates the freedom fighter, is moving. Yet as I read I felt a growing dissatisfaction.

What was missing was the story of Raymonda Tawil, a young Palestinian, whose articulate autobiography is *My Home, My Prison*. In 1976 she was sentenced to house arrest by the Israeli military occupation authorities, the culmination of harassment for her years-long activity. A police guard was stationed around the clock outside her home in the West Bank, all telephones were disconnected, visitors were forbidden and she was not allowed to leave her home for any reason.

Of her release a half year later, after international publicity, Raymonda writes she was not really freed.

How could I be free? I am a Palestinian living under foreign occupation. I am a woman living in a male dominated reactionary society. I am a wife in a [Arab] society that has made men into gods and women into submissive dolls. My house arrest has ended. My enslavement persists. My battle for emancipation has only begun... As a Palestinian I bear my prison in my heart, as a woman I suffer a double alienation.

Born and raised in a loving, comfortable Palestinian family in Israel, Raymonda opted in 1957 at age 17 to join her brothers in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem. With the 1967 June war she was trapped in the Israeli-occupied West Bank where she lived with her husband and children.

Raymonda's mother served as a Red Cross nurse, her aunt and her father fled temporarily into Lebanon, as did masses of Palestinians and Arabs following the self-preservation pattern of civilians in all wars. They were denied the right to return to their homes by the Israeli military occupation forces—refugees who attempted to do so were shot as "infiltrators." Raymonda's father was one of the wounded. As gentiles had done to the Jews in Europe, so now Jewish authorities confiscated Palestinian and Arab homes and personal possessions, officially declaring them "abandoned."



Top: Mother does laundry in a Negev settlement. Middle: Immigrants move into a Negev village. Bottom: Immigrants view Haifa for the first time.

Raymonda recounts how in 1953, invited to visit in the home of a Jewish school friend, she was led to the house of her aunt who since 1948 had not been allowed to return from Lebanon. The furniture was intact. Even Raymonda's "lost" doll lay in her friend's room. The Jewish child wept at her Palestinian friend's anger. She explained the house and all its contents were assigned her family when they arrived as refugees from Poland. Dvora pleads, "Here, take your doll, let's still be friends."

It is simplistic to call up the Holocaust, as so many Jews do, as a blanket justification for punitive and restrictive actions against the Palestinians by the Israeli government. It is factually an exaggeration to equate the plight of the Palestinians with the genocide perpetrated against the Jews. And comparisons and equations do not resolve the historic nor the current injustices and illegalities and inequalities. Raymonda Tawil, Palestinian revolutionary, confronts these problems in a manner that antagonizes the hard-line extremists among Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians alike.

A bold, independent and outspoken activist, she advocates the formation of two independent, friendly states. She has refused to be drawn into public criticism of the extremists in the PLO, explaining instead the understandable reasons for their position. However, she has consistently, and as recently as last October at an international conference in Washington, D.C., emphasized her own views and concentrated upon advocating a realistic, intermediary program which, she feels, must lead to the existence of two independent, friendly states.

Ignoring the wrath she invokes among extremist Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians alike, each of whom accused her of consorting with the "enemy," Raymonda turned her home into an ongoing political salon where Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians and foreigners of diverse opinions debate, dialog, and seek common grounds. And foreign correspondents, including those from progressive Israeli newspapers, flocked to Raymonda's clearing house of ideas and information. This is the crime for which the Israeli authorities punished her—just as in Moscow this is the crime for which Sakharov is exiled and Shchranzky is imprisoned.

Oblivious to the similarity of the situations or perhaps unknowing of it, Anatoly Shchranzky's single passion was to emigrate to Israel. Thanks to President Carter, the U.S. news media, and his wife's highly publicized visits to our country, the facts of the Shchranzky case are well known. Now his wife Avital has written a brief narrative of those facts, plus a factual account of her intensive, harried efforts in Europe and the U.S. on his behalf, with the inclusion of some of his letters to her. Her book, however, is disappointingly void of what the non-Soviet reader would want most to know.

A product of Soviet society, its educational system and its ideological precepts, Avital does not define at any time why she "always felt out of place in Russia," nor why she had always "felt stifled in a dark world and wanted to break out." Refugees from Poland, her parents were dedicated Communists who did not reveal to their two children their Jewish origins,

Continued on next page.

Continued from previous page.

and growing up in her Siberian hometown and later in Moscow in the 1960s, Avital writes she was "not much affected by dissidentism."

Then suddenly in 1973 she met Shcharansky, the dedicated activist of the Jewish emigration movement. A year later she was in Israel and he was in prison. We learn nothing of her reasons

or process of ideological, philosophical, religious conversion to that cause. Of her husband's dedication, she simplistically refers only to a beating by boyhood friends when they discover he is a Jew.

Only in the last pages of the book in a portion of Shcharansky's speech at his trial do we read a sentence about "the denial of centers of Jewish culture,

schools, theaters, libraries, anti-semitism." But the human experience behind the words we already know so well is absent in Avital's story.

Nor does she define what she found in Israel that makes her exclaim: "All this splendor is mine!" She writes only of the blueness of the sea and the whiteness of the beach sands. Surely freedom, if that is what

she found in Israel, is more than nature's marvels which exist in the Soviet Union too.

In one of his letters, Shcharansky refers to his anguish that the majority of Soviet Jews reaching Vienna opt not to go to Israel. But neither he nor Avital explore the reasons for this, nor why some Soviet Jews opt to leave Israel, some to return to the Soviet Union. Avital walks

through a surrealist Jerusalem in which no social problems exist; she is oblivious of the Raquelas who paved the road before her and she is certainly oblivious of the Raymondas around her.

Peggy Dennis is the author of Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

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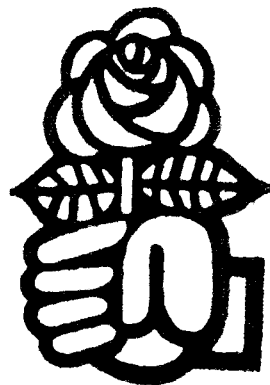
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COURAGE of a POET

Denise Levertov on Muriel Rukeyser

Muriel Rukeyser, more than any other poet I know of (including Pablo Neruda) consistently fused lyricism and overt social and political concern. Her *Collected Poems*, which, came out just over a year before her death, clearly reveals this seamlessness, this wholeness: virtually every page contains questions or affirmations relating to her sense of the human creature as a social species with the responsibilities, culpabilities, and possibilities attendant upon that condition. And virtually every page is infused with the sonic and figurative qualities of lyric poetry.

Her life presented a parallel fusion. From her presence as a protester at the Scottsboro trial in 1931, when she was 19, to the lone journey to Seoul which she undertook in 1975 in the (alas, unsuccessful) attempt—using her prestige as president of PEN—to obtain the release from jail of Kim Chi Ha, the Korean poet and activist, Muriel acted on her beliefs, rather than assuming that the ability to verbalize them somehow exempted her from further responsibility. The range of her concern expressed the fact that she went beyond humanitarian sympathy to a recognition of interconnections and parallels; she had a strong, independent, personal grasp of politics, and just as she blended the engaged and the lyrical, the life of writing and the life of action, so too did she blend her warm compassion and her extraordinary intelligence. To list some of the subjects of her poems is also to allude to events of her biography, and vice versa: Spain during the civil war; the working conditions of West Virginia miners in the 1930s; the unhating, profoundly civilized spirit of Hanoi, 1972; war-resistance and jail in D.C.—these are a few instances that come to mind. Whether working with schoolchildren in Harlem or learning to fly a plane; whether experiencing single parenthood or researching the life of the 16th/17th century mathematician, explorer and alchemist Thomas Harriot, Muriel never placed the objects of her attention in the sealed compartments of sterile expertise, but informed all that she touched with that unifying imagination that made her truly great.

Something that especially moves me about Muriel Rukeyser is the way in which her work moved towards greater economy and clarity in her later books. There are marvelous early poems, but sometimes her very generosity of spirit seemed to bring about a rush of words that had not the condensed

power she eventually attained. Clarity of communication was not easy for her because her mind was so complex, causing her conversation often to be hard to follow as she leapt across gulfs most of us had to trudge down into and up the other side; but she did attain it—a luminous precision—time after time.

I had known Muriel for many years before she and I and Jane Hart went to Vietnam together in the fall of 1972. That journey bound us in a deeper friendship. Among my recollections are two small incidents from that trip that seem expressive: one is her painful embarrassment at having to receive medical attention in a Hanoi hospital—she felt that, among so many war-injured Vietnamese civilians, an American with an injured toe was grossly out of place. (In fact, the matter was serious because of her diabetes.) The other is the look of distress I suddenly noticed on her face when I, in answer to a question from one of the Vietnamese writers we met, described New York City in extremely negative terms. She was a New Yorker born and bred and though she knew all about its terrors and tragedies, she loved the city and saw its possibilities, looking upon it with passionate hope, as upon a troubled but beloved person.

It would be inappropriate to memorialize her, however briefly, without mentioning her humor. (She included in her last book the two-line squib, *I'd rather be Muriel*

than be dead and be Ariel,
under the title *Not to be Printed, Not to be Said, Not to be Thought*.) Equally inappropriate would be omission of a reference to her lifelong interest in science and to the fact that she wrote not only poetry (including translations) but notable biographies, children's books, and two other uncategorizable prose works, *The Life of Poetry* and *The Orgy*. Then, too, there was her life as a teacher, for many years, at Sarah Lawrence, where the tutorial system demands of faculty an unusual degree of dedication.

The loss of this person, this poet, and for some of us this wonderful friend, is a great one. Her work and her example remain to sustain us—an ongoing source of life-affirmative energy. In the preface to her *Collected Poems* she wrote of "the parts of life in which we dive deep and sometimes—with strength of expression and skill and luck—reach that place where things are shared, and we all recognize the secrets." Muriel Rukeyser had that strength, that skill, that luck—and she did reach that place.

In Memory of Muriel Rukeyser

The last event
of Black Emphasis Week.
In the big auditorium, 2 or 3 Whites, 4 or 5 Blacks,
watch the lynching.

In technicolor,
fictive, not
documentary black and white—
the truth, nonetheless,
white and black.

And the burning.
Familiar—
torching of
brittle timber,
or straw.

Asia or Alabama,
the screen gives forth
an odor. Fat. Hair.
There will be bones
in the hot rubble. Black
bones, or yellow,
ash white.

The film continues,
reel after reel. Ends. And now
the few who were here—

scattered, like dim lights
of prairie farms seen from a plane,
isolate,
lost—
have gone out when you turn to leave.

Out, now, into the night.
The world is dark, the movie's over,
it's showing again in your head but
your sobs are silent,
you shake

with despair in the
night which holds
trees, soft air,
music pulsing from a dorm,
and a thousand students who chose
not to attend

the truth of fiction,
history, their own. 'No one
to witness and adjust,'
drifting.

You think: *Perhaps*
we deserve
no more, we humans,
cruel and dull.
No more time.

We've made
our cathedrals,
had our chance,
blown it.

You will never
feel more alone than this. Or will you?
Yes. There are 'cliffs of fall'
steeper, deeper.

And you remember
the passion for life, the vision
of love and work
your great intelligent friend had,
who died last week.
Is this despair
a link of those chains she called
the sense of shame?

At Scottsboro she
saw plain,
in black and white,
terror
and hatred;
didn't despair,
grieved, worked,
moved beyond shame,
fought 40 years more.

You cross
the darkness
still shaking, enter
the house you've been given,
turn up the desk light,
sit down to plan
the next day. How else
to show your respect?

'No one
to drive the car.' *Well,*
let's walk then, she says,
when you imagine her.

Now. Stop shaking. Imagine her.

She was a cathedral.

—Denise Levertov